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# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-116
Monday
19 June 1989

# Daily Report
## East Europe

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## Hungarian 'Traitor' Nagy Reinterred in Budapest

*AU1806135189 Tirana ATA in French 0815 GMT 18 Jun 89*

[ATA report: "Solemn Reinterment of Imre Nagy, Leader of the Hungarian Counterrevolution"]

[Text] Tirana, 17 Jun (ATA)—According to press agency reports, the ceremony of the reinterment of former Prime Minister Imre Nagy, who was sentenced to death with four of his close collaborators in 1958 as leader of the Hungarian counterrevolution of 1956, was solemnly enacted in Budapest on 16 June.

Two hundred and fifty thousand people, including Hungarian Prime Minister Nemeth and representatives of bourgeois and revisionist parties from other countries, attended the ceremony organized on this occasion on Heroes Square. The large crowd assembled on Heroes Square sang the Hungarian national anthem and promised loyalty to "the revolution" of 1956, as the counterrevolution of that year is now called in Hungary. Numerous wreaths were laid on the tomb by Hungarian and foreign representatives, including the United States ambassador in Budapest. At the start of the reinterment ceremony, bells rang, car horns sounded, and sirens blared throughout the country.

It is common knowledge that Imre Nagy was the leader of the 1956 counterrevolution which aimed to overthrow socialism in Hungary. He was a pseudocommunist and a traitor who introduced the flag of revisionism under the mask of communism. His rehabilitation takes place at a time when Hungary is in the course of reintroducing his ideological, political, and economic line.

The news agency REUTER emphasizes that such a ceremony organized in Budapest marks the complete rehabilitation of a leader very recently held to be a counterrevolutionary. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party now considers Nagy to be a symbol of reform and a national hero. The government has paid Nagy a high honor, suggesting that his ideas include many elements of current policies. Prime Minister Nemeth, the abovementioned agency adds, stressed in a recent article that "Nagy's life and death were a political martyrdom."

According to press agencies, Imre Nagy's rehabilitation has been favorably received in the United States. United States President Bush stated that he would immediately ask Congress to grant commercial facilities to Hungary, with the aim of encouraging political and economic reforms in this country.

## GDR Foreign Minister Fischer To Visit Albania

*AU1506191089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, will pay an official and friendly visit to Albania soon, at the invitation of Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

## Austrian Parliamentary Delegation on Visit

### Alia Receives Delegation

*AU1506193589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received the Austrian parliamentary delegation headed by Gerulf Stix, vice president of the Nationalrat, at the Palace of Brigades today.

Petro Dode, chairman of the People's Assembly, and Sihat Tozaj, secretary to the Presidium of the People's Assembly, took part in the reception. Engjell Kolaneci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Albania to Austria, and Paul Leifer, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Austria to Albania, were also present.

It is a particular pleasure for me to meet you today, Comrade Ramiz Alia said to the deputies of the Austrian Nationalrat, wishing them welcome. In his conversation with them, Comrade Ramiz Alia said that very good relations exist between Albania and Austria. The Austrian people, like the Albanian people, love the freedom and independence of their country. Opportunities exist to further expand bilateral relations and cooperation in various fields. The visit of your delegation will give fresh impetus to strengthening the friendship between our two countries and peoples. Comrade Ramiz Alia then spoke to our Austrian guests about the road Albania has followed in its social and economic development and its correct, principled, and independent foreign policy. Our country, he said, pursues a policy of good neighborliness with all the states of the region, in the interests of its freedom and independence, and of peace and security in the Balkans, Europe, and beyond.

For his part, Gerulf Stix expressed his thanks for the warm reception and the invitation extended to the Austrian parliamentary delegation, which is visiting Albania for the first time. We have learned a great deal about Albania in recent days, and about the brave and heroic Albanian people and their fine traditions. We greatly appreciate the cordial hospitality we have been afforded.

Assessing Albania's foreign policy and its contribution to preserving peace and security in the Balkans and beyond, in the context of today's international relations, he expressed the desire to further strengthen cooperation between our two countries. The reception passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

### Farudin Hoxha Meets Austrians

*AU1506193989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Council of Ministers, received today the Austrian parliamentary delegation headed by Gerulf Stix, vice president of the Nationalrat.

At their cordial meeting, the further development of economic and trade relations and the development of industrial, technical, and scientific cooperation between Albania and Austria were discussed.

In the afternoon, the Austrian parliamentary delegation visited the Enver Hoxha Museum in Tirana, where they learned about the life and revolutionary work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the dear and unforgettable leader of our people, which is reflected in the rich resources, documents, photographs, and exhibits of this museum, displayed with the help of the contemporary technology with which the museum is equipped. Gerulf Stix, vice president of the Austrian Nationalrat, wrote in the museum's visitors book: The Austrian parliamentary delegation express their respect for the founder of the new Albania and for the freedom-loving Albanian people.

In the evening, the deputies to the Austrian Nationalrat attended a concert in the Opera and Ballet Theater given by the Folk Song and Dance Ensemble.

## Austrian Delegation Departs

*AU1606185389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] The Austrian parliamentary delegation headed by Gerulf Stix, vice president of the Nationalrat, left our country today after its official and friendly visit.

Petro Dode, chairman of the People's Assembly, Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, deputies, and other comrades went to Rinas Airport to see off our Austrian guests.

In the morning, the Austrian parliamentary delegation visited the Albania Today Exhibition, where they learned about the achievements recorded in our country in social and economic development in various fields, and about its industry, agriculture, science, education, and culture.

Gerulf Stix, vice president of the Nationalrat, said that they studied with great interest the evidence of the magnificent work of the Albanian people in all fields and in the economy. It will be a pleasure for Austria to intensify its economic cooperation with Albania in the future.

## Ramiz Alia Speaks to Shkoder Intelligentsia

*AU1806173889 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Jun 89 p 1, 3*

[ATA report on speech by Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee, in Shkoder on 9 June: "All Development Plans Should Reflect Scientific Thinking—Comrade Ramiz Alia Meets Representatives of the Intelligentsia"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Ramiz Alia visited the Luigj Gurakuqi Teacher Training Institute yesterday afternoon, where he met representatives of the intelligentsia of Shkoder District and working people in education, culture, and science. [passage omitted]

Amid the enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor:

It is a special pleasure for me to meet you, representatives of education, culture, and science from Shkoder District. On this occasion, I greet you on behalf of the party and wish you fruitful and creative work.

Shkoder District has a creative technical intelligentsia that can claim distinction for its determined work and scientific talents. Its members have maintained and enriched the venerable traditions of this ancient and lively hearth of our national culture. In Shkoder today, we have mature, specialist, and capable scientists in productive and social spheres, and artists and writers that the whole country knows and appreciates. With these people, Shkoder today gives vital support to the progress of culture and science in Albania.

A major transformation has taken place in all walks of life in our country, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out. We have created diversified industries and advanced forms of agriculture that are the main pillars on which the independent development of our country rests. This is greatly to the credit of our party and the correct Marxist-Leninist line it has pursued.

However, he stressed, these successes could not have been attained if the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha had not devoted special care to materially developing and raising the cultural and educational level of the masses, particularly by training high-level specialists in various spheres of social activity. If we are rightly proud that today, compared with 1970, Albania's total production is two and one half times larger, we also have the right to be proud that there are now 70,000 higher cadres, and that 4,300 of them, or five times as many as in 1970, work in Shkoder District. Education, cultural, and scientific institutions, literature, the arts, and so forth, are developing at a brisk pace.

The country's socialist construction, Comrade Ramiz Alia said later, relies on the knowledge and creative energies of the masses, on the drive and enthusiasm of the workers class and all the working people, and on their constant spirit of initiative. Science and culture have special roles to play in this context. The party has therefore always devoted constant attention to the development of education, culture, and science. It encourages artistic and scientific creativity. This has been and remains a steadfast policy of our party, just as its attitude toward the intelligentsia has been and remains constant. Our country is at present faced with major tasks, Comrade Ramiz Alia said. The matters of augmenting labor productivity, of intensification, and of quality improvement have been raised in almost every sector. This is evidence of the advanced economic level the country has reached in culture and in the life of its society. Industry is now confronted with the task of processing minerals in a more advanced way. The task of generally improving standards implies a need to raise social productivity in labor. Such tasks require a higher standard of technology, which means large-scale improvements and renewal. The required leap forward toward faster growth in agricultural production means choosing high-yield seeds and breeds and refining the cooperativist order. There is also pressure for higher standards in education, culture, literature, and the arts.

Under these circumstances, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, science and culture have a more prominent role to play. As the Ninth Congress stressed, technical, technological, and intellectual progress has made science a direct productive force in our society. This also places obligations on our people's intelligentsia today.

In the work of specialists, scientists, and scholars, the question of solving the main problems facing the different sectors of our economic and cultural life must be given priority. Our development plans must reflect the ideas of these cadres, just as they mirror those of the workers class and the cooperativist peasantry. Our emancipated society should use its intelligence to manage itself in all spheres with awareness, logic, principles, and wisdom, not merely following orders and instructions. Scientific study supports, justifies, and enriches the line of the party itself. The process of revolution, Comrade Ramiz Alia said later, has created a new type of intellectual. He has emerged from the bosom of the working people, shaped in the Albanian mold, and is closely bound to socialism; he is patriotic and cultured. The workers class, the laboring peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia in our country are bound to socialism by their fundamental interests. Every policy of the party has its origin in the people and in what is most progressive in society. The party should actively use this great creative force in the service of socialist progress.

Higher demands made on the intelligentsia require the party to care for them better. The party, Comrade Ramiz said, must work tirelessly, not only for academic education, but for the political, ideological, and moral education of cadres and specialists. Ideological clarity and socialist convictions enable the intelligentsia's creative abilities to flourish. The party helps the intelligentsia by making them active participants in constructive discussions on various issues concerning its policies, just as the intelligentsia aid socialist progress with their own progressive ideas and opinions.

The scientific capabilities and the contribution of the intelligentsia, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed later, flourish when they are closely tied to the workers class, the peasantry, and the masses of working people, to production and the people's essential preoccupations. No textbook can replace the strict logic of life. The intelligentsia forges its strength and optimism on the anvil of the workers class; in association with it, it gains inspiration and broadens its range of interests. Its work should be merge into a single force with the zeal of the workers. Life itself shows that it is primarily forces closely linked with production that enable science to make progress. Likewise, the most renowned and respected creators and artists are those who are close to the masses of the people, the workers and peasants.

The country's development, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in conclusion, and the progress being made in every sphere, are a result of the party's correct Marxist-Leninist policy. The effectiveness of this line is reflected not only in our internal development, but in our relations with foreign countries. The authority of our party has risen, because the people see that Albania is consistent in its anti-imperialist line and is on the side of the struggle of the people. It is important that the role of our country is expanding at a time when socialism is being attacked from all sides. It is just such a time that confirms the general superiority of the social order in our country.

Comrade Ramiz Alia met and warmly greeted those present. He left the institute, affectionly seen off.

In the evening, Comrade Ramiz Alia watched a premiere at the Migjeni Theater.

### Alia Addresses Shkoder Cadres

*AU1706184689 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 Jun 89 p 1-2*

["From the Speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia," Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, to a meeting of local cadres in Shkoder on 10 June: "Communists Should Always Be Present Where the Tasks Are Hardest"]

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia began by saying that the struggle to perform the goals of the Eighth 5-Year Plan has set many important tasks for the development of production and for progress in other spheres. The working masses, with communists in the vanguard, have responded to these tasks with special mobilization. In fact, good results have been achieved everywhere. Plans, including export plans, are being fulfilled in industrial sectors, while it is expected that agriculture will meet its targets much better this year. I wish to emphasize, and it is a pleasure to do so, that Shkoder District is working well in every respect and has achieved laudable results.

He pointed out that certain initiatives and powerful movements that are revolutionizing labor have recently arisen and are spreading fast throughout the country. The peasantry are struggling to boost the production of milk and other animal products from both the collective herds and the small herds and fields by exploiting every internal resource and opportunity. The small herds produced 15,000 tonnes more milk during the first 5 months of this year, compared with the same period last year. Construction workers and industrial enterprises are reviewing their plans and labor targets in order to shorten the construction schedules of new projects, thus enabling the economy to profit earlier, or more than anticipated, from ferrochrome, chemical fertilizer, consumer goods, water for agriculture and the population, housing, and so forth. Production workers and economists, by supporting the initiative launched by the working people of Tirana to improve the effectiveness of social production, are increasing their efforts for higher levels of labor productivity and lower costs, for savings and innovations, for the good management of property, and for a higher degree of awareness among working people. The economy will gain additional sources of accumulation from these movements.

In this wave of energy and creative labor, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, every communist in every party organization must ask himself whether their attitudes are what they should be, and whether they have assumed the combative standpoint of a militant revolutionary. Militancy is necessary everywhere, but it is first of all called for where work is hardest, and where a party directive or a mass revolutionary movement needs particular support. Communists, party organizations, and their mobilizing zeal must be prominent in conclusively solving the problem of supplying the peasantry from the small herds and fields, in the principal mass actions of the 5-year period, and in the struggle to meet the export plan which is at present a fundamental duty. If they do not demonstrate their communist militancy on these fronts, where will they do so? No Communist worthy of the name can lag at the rear.

Comrade Ramiz underlined that communists demonstrate their militancy first of all in their personal example, by shouldering specific tasks, and working on the most difficult fronts. The ability to do a job properly and to set an example at work is the best embodiment of the correct line of the party, its leading role, and the revolutionary awareness that every communist possesses. Communists and basic organizations do their duty by shouldering tasks themselves, not by issuing instructions that are remote from people's daily lives.

The party has instructed: Every brigade must have its own small herds and fields. Indeed, qualitative and intensive developments are called for in the small herds themselves in order to achieve higher milk production. They must also attain certain target goals as soon as possible in supplying the peasantry with meat. The majority of brigades and districts have successfully attained these goals. They will be achieved on a broad scale everywhere, if party organizations and communists do not become content with prescribing tasks for economic bodies and other instruments at the base, but put themselves in the vanguard of this great labor. Let us properly bear in mind that the needs of the peasantry will grow, and that work to supplement the small herds, to increase the number of head, and to raise higher production from the small fields knows no limits, and that enacting and building on initiatives in this sphere will be a continuous process.

Recently, Comrade Ramiz continued, ZERI I POPULLIT published a letter from the Communists of the Fifth Sector of Pajove Cooperative near Elbasan. They showed specifically how base organizations can tackle the issue of the small herds directly, by assigning particular communists to be responsible for this matter. I think that this is a practical solution. In this way, the party takes the lead in carrying out its obligations, and communists are faced with a serious test, in whose performance their abilities as leaders of the masses will be judged.

However, this has not been done everywhere. In many cases in Tirana District, the basic organizations have confined themselves to passing on the party's directives in a general way, as the newspaper TIRANA has reported. In some cooperatives and agricultural enterprises in this district, there are still brigades without small herds, while the expansion of stockraising among these brigades is proceeding extremely slowly. At the same time, improvements in herd structure and the creation of complex small herds, in these cooperatives are extremely backward! It is also inexplicable that, although stockraising has expanded in both the large and small herds in Lushnje and Fier, milk production has not risen proportionately.

There is only one way forward. These districts, especially where the matter of creating and consolidating small herds and fields has not been solved, must abandon over-general directives and exhortation. The most able Communists must be assigned to the job of supplying the peasantry from the collective herds, and must answer for their work to the organization and to the cooperativists. Communists must struggle against delays of all kinds in this work, and must encourage cooperativists to correctly, quickly, and effectively carry out this party directive.

The same thing, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, must be said about other mass actions and initiatives. Basic organizations must appoint communists and organization members to be directly responsible for carrying out duties, for which they are to be answerable in detail, in work gangs and different sectors, and at the most sensitive points of the economy, on which the completion of projects ahead of schedule, increased economic effectiveness, reductions in the use of materials, savings, and so forth depend. Specific tasks also demand specific organizational measures. Every obligation also calls for persistent and militant labor.

Communist militancy is not merely an abstract phrase. It finds reflection in the most punctilious performance of party directives in work and labor. Those who honorably and capably carry out their obligations deserve the title of communist, and the party has no use for those who fail to do so. Therefore, when we say that the party must be strengthened, or that its organizations must take the lead in labor, this means that communists must be honest and to the fore, that party members must be militant and in the vanguard of the most difficult mass actions and tasks, and that communists must be assigned specific duties in thoroughly implementing a particular party directive, setting an example for the broad working masses to follow. That is what militancy means, and party committees, from bureaus down to basic organizations, must fight for this end.

We have a strong, well-organized party, just as we have devoted Communists. There is therefore, no task that they cannot lead. Those of us in positions of management are called upon to further refine our ways of directing labor, explaining and clarifying party directives, and organizing effectively. As I mentioned, certain revolutionary initiatives and mass movements have broken out, we are on the threshold of the harvest campaign, and are reaching the end of the first 6 months of this year's plan. Let us explain clearly to the masses the tasks that now face us. Let us organize our resources, making every communist responsible for his own work. If we tighten discipline and control, and insist again and again on this discipline and control, there will be no doubt that we will perform the tasks ahead of us with good and excellent results.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

Let us not forget the situation in which we live, and let us not forget the struggle of the revisionists who seek to discredit socialism and its potential. We must show that Marxism-Leninism is endowed with vitality and creative energy, and that it is able to solve every problem that our time poses. Our party, following the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, will lead our socialist homeland onward to new and greater victories.

I wish Shkoder District, its Communists and all its working people, new successes. May Shkoder District always be in the forefront in the struggle to raise higher our socialist triumphs on the path blazed by the party.

## FRG Visit Reported to Assembly Commission

*AU1606160989 Tirana ATA in English 0815 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Tirana, June 16 (ATA)—The Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania convened. It got acquainted and discussed on the materials to be presented at the 5th Session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly and made suggestions on them.

In this meeting, the chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission, Comrade Foto Cami, briefed the commission on his visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, done at the invitation of the chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Parliament of the FR of Germany, Dr Hans Stercken.

Comrade Foto Cami pointed out that the visit marked a further development of the contacts and relations between the two countries. In the meetings with senior political personalities of the Parliament and Government of the FR of Germany, it was discussed on the paths and possibilities to further extend the relations between Albania and the FR of Germany and especially those of the economic cooperation. Likewise, it was discussed on some aspects of the current political situation in Europe. In particular it was spoken of the developments in the Balkans and of the process of Balkan cooperation as an important factor serving the strengthening of confidence and understanding among the countries of this region.

This visit, Comrade Foto Cami said, opened the path to the further exchanges between the parliaments of both countries, which contribute to the development of the bilateral friendly relations.

The Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly assessed Comrade Foto Cami's visit to the FR of Germany as successful and as a new step forward in the relations between the two countries. The Commission hailed the contacts between the parliamentarians and emphasized the necessity to develop and strengthen them further to the common benefit of the bilateral cooperation, peace and security.

## Sixth Volume of Hoxha's Diary Published

*AU1706183589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] The sixth volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's diary has been published and placed on sale. The entries included in this volume are from 1964. They reflect important events in our country and in the international arena, and offer views and opinions on major problems of development in our country and the world. In its reflections, analyses, and conclusions, this volume of the diary shows the importance the great leader of the Albanian Workers Party placed on socialist construction and the defense of the homeland, on increasing the people's prosperity, and on their successful progress in all areas of our life. The entries reflect Comrade Enver Hoxha's commitment to intensive work for the country's political, economic, and social progress.

## Second Radio Station Starts Summer Schedule

*AU1506190189*

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 15 June carries a 2-minute report announcing the start of broadcasting of Radio Tirana's second station on 16 June. The report states that the station will be "devoted mainly to light music, folk music, and humor," and will broadcast daily between 0700-1200 GMT for a 3-month period. The station's wavelength is stated to be 206 meters, medium wave.

### Leaders' Public Appearances for 10-16 Jun

*AU1606190489*

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts from 10 to 16 June reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (date and time of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee [CC] first secretary, and Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, received Francis Milne, incoming Australian ambassador, in Tirana on 12 June (1800 GMT 12 June 89); Alia also spoke to local cadres in Shkoder on 10 June (1800 GMT 10 June 89), and received an Austrian parliamentary delegation in Tirana on 15 June (1800 GMT 15 June 89).

Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Pak Yong-si, outgoing DPRK ambassador, in Tirana on 13 June. (1800 GMT 13 Jun 89)

Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended a meeting of the People's Assembly Permanent Commission on Health in Tirana on 14 June. (1800 GMT 14 June 89)

Pali Miska, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended a seminar on agriculture in Lushnje on 11 June. (1800 GMT 11 Jun 89)

Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, attended a sports festival in Korce on 11 June. (1800 GMT 11 Jun 89)

Reis Malile received an Austrian parliamentary delegation in Tirana on 13 June. (1800 GMT 13 Jun 89)

### Atanasov Delivers Statement on Ethnic Issue

*AU1906140389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jun 89 p 1*

["Nobody Forces Bulgarian Citizens To Leave Their Motherland"]

[Text] Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, today made the following statement before a correspondent of the BTA:

The statement of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, broadcast by the Bulgarian radio and television on May 29 this year was received with deep understanding and patriotic enthusiasm and it enjoys the ardent support of the whole people.

The working class, the peasants, the people's intelligentsia in cities, towns and villages are responding enthusiastically to Mr Todor Zhivkov's appeal for the further strengthening of the unity and the solidarity of the people with the Bulgarian Communist Party and for the implementation of a sweeping restructuring in all spheres of life.

At the same time the tension among certain groups of our population has not fully relaxed yet. The outside "directors" staging the anti-Bulgarian campaign and their emissaries in separate regions of the country are still spreading rumours aimed at disturbing the peace and endangering the security of the Bulgarian citizens, misusing their religious feelings, creating a psychosis among some of them luring them into leaving their country, breaking the labor discipline and disturbing peace.

As it is well known that, in the spirit of the restructuring which is being implemented here and in conformity with the agreements reached in Vienna, the Bulgarian State has recently made amendments to its legislation which are related to the right of unrestricted travels abroad, thus providing all Bulgarian citizens with the possibility to leave the country whenever they want, to reside temporarily or permanently abroad and to return to Bulgaria. Our legislation is equally valid for all. It neither gives any privileges nor imposes any restrictions on the citizens because of the religion practised by them. This legislation is not transient. It is a long-term legislation.

Legal guarantees that this right can be really enjoyed have been also given. Bulgaria is one of the first countries which take part in the all-European process to have started the practical implementation of the Vienna accords. All Bulgarian citizens, the Bulgarian Muslims included, who want to visit Turkey or any other country, can avail themselves of this opportunity.

Bulgaria appreciates the fact that Turkey responded to the appeal Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, made on May 29 and opened her borders for those Bulgarian citizens, who wish to pay a visit there or, due to different personal or family considerations, are willing to settle and live there.

Some interested circles in Turkey, however, seek to present this natural right to travel abroad as all but expelling Bulgarian citizens from the country and deporting them to Turkey. These days we are witnessing the speculation with human fates and dramas for the attainment of suspicious political ends, shameful scenes are being enacted out of hypocritical motives and pretended concern over the destiny of the Bulgarian Muslims. Attempts are being made to manipulate the international public.

Unfortunately, there are some Bulgarian citizens who succumb to the speculations of the Turkish propaganda, but they do not realize that when they leave our country they will have to face great difficulties, unemployment, physical and moral torture, camps and settlement in the most remote places in Turkey.

For 15 years I was people's deputy of the Kurdzhali region. I know a lot of Bulgarian Muslims. I have friends among them. I just cannot imagine that they will leave behind all they have, all that ties them to the Bulgarian land and the people and will succumb to to deceitful enticements. I am absolutely convinced that these people will not and cannot find any other motherland outside Bulgaria.

On behalf of the Bulgarian people, I wish to most responsibly state that nobody wants and nobody can force any Bulgarian citizens into leaving their motherland.

All of us are children of this land. Bulgaria belongs to all, irrespective of their religion and customs. We live in our motherland, she is our fate and our future and she has no undesirable sons and daughters.

In the People's Republic of Bulgaria all Bulgarian citizens, Bulgarian Muslims included, are equal in the eye of the law irrespective of their religion. Bulgaria's Constitution and her legislation grant them all civic, political, social, economic and cultural rights in conformity with international standards. They can enjoy all social gains and facilities, permanent employment, housing accommodation, free education, free medical care, etc. There have been created all normal conditions for a peaceful life and good standards of living. The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian State have always bestowed care on the Bulgarian Muslims and have taken care so that they can enjoy their rights, including the right to travel abroad freely. This is our lasting policy.

I cannot but mention here that certain circles in neighboring Turkey are misusing our purely humane feeling and position from self-interested motives and mercenary intentions with regard to part of our population and all the Bulgarian people.

We know why some high-ranking Turkish officials are making belligerent statements, fanning up psychosis and hatred for the Bulgarian people and all that is Bulgarian among the broad masses of the Turkish people, making absurd claims and calling upon the world public for support in what they are doing. Any unbiased man can clearly see the pan-Turkish imperial ambitions hidden behind this aggressive conduct.

As we have stated several times, we are for good-neighborly, humane, and civilized relations with the Republic of Turkey and the Turkish people.

We have always been and are still ready for meetings and discussions on all really existing bilateral problems on the basis of mutual respect and consideration for the interests of the parties concerned, sovereign equality, non-interference in domestic affairs and based on all other universally recognized principles and norms of international law which govern peaceful relations between independent states.

Naturally, such a dialogue would be possible and efficient if it is not dependent on any preconditions and if it is conducted in a constructive spirit.

Bulgaria is for exactly this type of dialogue because she is absolutely convinced that both the present and the future of Turkey and Bulgaria depend on the normal, good-neighbourly relations between them and in the Balkans, on the understanding and the cooperation with all countries in the world.

### Ozal Statement on 'Expulsion' of Turks Censured

*AU1606153489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Jun 89 p 5*

[Kostadin Yordanov article: "Strange Terminology"]

[Text] Turgut Ozal, prime minister of our neighbor country, Turkey, expressed his indignation at the "expulsion" of Bulgarian citizens from Bulgaria. AFP which cites his statement explains that the "expulsion" was discussed at a meeting of the Turkish Chamber of Commerce in Ankara.

Originating from the Latin word "expulsion" (to push out, to chase away) the words "expulsion" and "expel" are known in many languages with the generally accepted meaning: To chase away. Expulsion, as a legal term means a compulsory, administrative measure against a person, forcing him to leave a country, a measure, which is applied in special cases and is exclusively related to foreigners. We can learn this by consulting dictionaries and encyclopedias, which is a rather useful occupation because it helps us avoid misunderstandings.

Despite a certain difference in the various definitions of the term "expulsion," they, evidently, have all one special meaning in common—namely, that a compulsory, administrative action is the essential prerequisite for expulsion as a legal procedure. Voluntary excursions to foreign countries can certainly not be defined as expulsions. Prior to the Turkish Government leader's statement, everyone seemed to agree that travel agencies all over the world are not dealing with expulsions, and that an expression, such as: "Last summer I was expelled to Madrid for 10 days" could only be described as a humorous remark.

Mr Ozal, however, is by no means joking. He is talking about "expulsion" with the same serious conviction with which he recently wrote that Homer was in fact a Turkish writer, whose real name was Omar, that the heroes of the Trojan War were Turks in their majority, and that King Agamemnon, who until recently was considered an Hellenic ruler, was actually called Aga Memnun, and so forth. (Editorial note: Turgut Ozal is really the author of a book which contains such statements and even provoked a small diplomatic incident with Greece, but, above all, greatly amused the deputies of the Greek Parliament).

Bulgarian citizens who are traveling abroad are doing so at their own wish. They apply for passports, prepare for their trips, and if they have no intention of traveling, they neither apply for a passport, nor do they pack their bags. The travelers whom the Turkish prime minister has in mind are provided with regular traveling documents which authorize them to leave the country, but do not force them to go abroad. Can such act be described as an expulsion?

Mr Ozal has made an involuntary mistake, at best, by using the wrong term "expulsion." Mistakes should be forgiven, especially among neighbors. Nevertheless, considering the anti-Bulgarian campaign that is currently fanned in Turkey, it is somewhat justified to ask whether this was not a deliberate mistake. In such case, it is no longer a terminological dispute, it is no longer a question of "quibbling over words." How should we describe a policy that is making use of deliberate mistakes?

### Article Attacks Turkey's Anti-Bulgarian Campaign

*AU1606191489 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 24, 14 Jun 89 p 10*

[Stanimir Boykov commentary: "Good Intentions in Ankara's Fashion"]

[Text] During the years following the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, certain political circles in Turkey have made repeated efforts to manipulate the Bulgarian Muslims, create an atmosphere of insecurity around them, and put the idea into their heads that they are foreigners in their own native land. The Turkish propaganda machine displays particular activity when changes occur in the life of this population that are to the detriment of Turkish nationalism, or when the ruling circles in Ankara are experiencing a crisis and seek a breathing space.

Turkey also shows similar "good intentions" toward the Muslim or Turkic communities in most of the neighboring countries and in more distant states. Such abuse of the legacy of the assimilation policy practiced in the Ottoman Empire is necessary for Turkey's prestige and to whip up aggressive nationalism directed toward implementing the goal of Pan-Turkism—the restoration of the empire's one-time greatness. A typical example of the ease with which Ankara fabricates falsifications of this kind was the recently published book by Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, in which he proclaims that Turkey is nothing more or less than the successor of Byzantium and its culture. This is why no one can be convinced by the Turkish leaders' assurances that they are allegedly doing everything with good intentions and that in this manner they are building "bridges of friendship".... Who is able to believe this after the monstrous genocide of the Armenian people, after the barbaric pogroms perpetrated on the Greeks in Istanbul, after the occupation of northern Cyprus, and after the many years of systematic extermination of the millions-strong Kurdish population in the southeastern regions of Turkey?... Incidentally, the ink is still wet on the articles that disclosed the Turkish rulers' intentions to lay hands on Kirkuk and Mosul in the event of Iran's victory over Iraq in the recent war.

The process of re-establishing the historical truth and of returning the Bulgarian Muslims to their native roots has naturally not proved to be to the taste of official Ankara, which has undertaken one of the most massive and inflammatory campaigns against Bulgaria. It all developed according to the well-known plan: starting with declarations of concern for the Muslims and appeals for emigration, and followed by inciting extremism and making military threats.

The National Assembly's decision on the issue of foreign travel passports to all Bulgarian citizens shocked the Turkish rulers. The humanitarian proposals contained in the appeal of Todor Zhivkov, the head of state of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, completely unmasked Ankara's false concern. Ankara suddenly forgot its previous propaganda blandishments, and started developing the thesis that it did not need the Bulgarian Muslims, because Turkey was experiencing an economic crisis and had no work for the millions of unemployed. Such "well-intentioned" scenarios were played out both at the beginning of the fifties and the end of the seventies, when agreements for the emigration of separated families were being fulfilled. The bitterness of the self-deception could best be read in the faces of the thousands of emigrants who had just arrived in Turkey and had felt the truth in the whole of their being, and who at the end of 1978 and beginning of 1978 formed lines at the Bulgarian diplomatic missions to apply to return to Bulgaria.

In these days of the anti-Bulgarian campaign the right-wing daily TERCUMAN has proved to be the most frank; this daily writes that Turkish interests demanded that the Bulgarian Muslims should live in our country, and not in Turkey. There could hardly be a more cynical admission of the aggressive ambitions of the top politicians in Ankara. This will also be realized sooner or later by the Bulgarian Muslims who have yielded to the provocations of their "benefactors" abroad.

In the start of the century, Ataturk condemned Pan-Turkism as harmful to the interests of his people, because he was striving for good-neighborliness and friendship. However, in recent decades the Turkish ruling circles have forgotten the legacies of the creator of the Republic and have once again given a green light to Pan-Turkism. The Turkish bourgeoisie needed three military coups to suppress all progressive and democratic elements. The present campaign will not help them to conceal from world public opinion the truth about the harsh suppression of human rights in their own house. In our times, Pan-Turkism has no chance of success.

### Citizens En Route to Turkey Queried at Border

*AU1706203889 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 15 Jun 89 p 1*

[Special correspondent Plamen Starev report: "Departure Into the Unknown"]

[Text] Malko Turnovo, 17 June (by telephone)—The baggage is packed. The cars are overloaded. Some families have rented trucks. People who have no cars are traveling in buses. I cannot imagine a more difficult journey. The journey may last several days. I did not see anyone weeping, apart from small children, and there are many of them. They do not understand exactly what is happening, but the tension in their parents, which they find hard to suppress, frightens them. I did not see anyone looking happy either, yet it is a departure, a journey. Almost everyone to whom I talked told me that they were going to visit people, and that they would probably return in 2, 3, or 5 months. However, the piles of baggage on top of the cars did not bear out their words. They knew very well that many unknown things awaited them, but they did not know the answers.

Andon Khristov is a builder from Vodyantsi. His wife Dafina looks after the house and the tobacco crop. They have two sons, and the older one, Neven is 7 years old. I ask Andon if he found it easy to arrange the travel documents.

[Khristov] My brother's and my own passports were ready 2 days after we submitted the applications. We then went to the town of Tolbukhin and rented a taxi van for the baggage.

[Starev] What will you do in Turkey?

[Khristov] I don't know. I have relatives there, but we will not stay with them. We cannot involve people in looking after us and bother them with our affairs. They certainly have their own worries.

[Starev] Are your children glad that they are leaving?

[Khristov] They don't even know what Turkey means.

Emil Kekhayov is from the village of Draganovo, Varna Oblast. He is traveling with his wife Violet and his two children, and has found room in his car for three more children of relatives. He tries to show a smile even as we talk, but it is evident that he is troubled. A long road awaits him to somewhere or other, far away in the unknown. He tells me that they have decided themselves that they will return, that they have never been in Turkey, and that it will be interesting for them.... He does not even know where he will sleep the next night, what he will eat, or what will become of him and his family. He wishes it were tomorrow already, but at the same time tomorrow is the day that worries him most of all.

At the border point everything is calm, despite the greater than usual amount of traffic. Cars, buses, and heavily loaded vehicles pass by one after the other and are speedily processed. I was told that things are not moving so quickly on the Turkish side. Whereas during the first 2 days the Turkish border check point operated round the clock, it then began to close between 2200 and 0600.

As I talked, the cameras clicked on the other side, halfway between the two border posts. It turned out that colleagues from the central Turkish newspapers, including TERCUMAN and MILLIYET, were among the first people to meet those who were departing. Before we had time to introduce ourselves to one another, people in uniform arrived. They did not allow their own journalists to take photographs, and even tried to stop me. They began to harass the colleagues. Evidently our meeting was not to their liking or something bothered them, I don't know. Yes, the border has its own laws, but I can hardly believe that they are against contacts between colleagues, between people.

## Further on Departing Families

*AU1906124889 Sofia BTA in English*
*1215 GMT 19 Jun 89*

[Text] Sofia, June 19 (BTA)—"Will I go to Turkey? No, I'll never leave. I have built a house for 24 thousand leva. All my friends are here." This is the answer of Ivelin Yosifov, from the village of Senokos (northeast Bulgaria), given to KOOPERTIVNO SELO's correspondent. Relatives of his father have emigrated to Turkey in 1935. His family has visited them. This is one kind of the answers given to Bulgarian journalists these days by Bulgarians professing the Islam and by decendants of Islamized Bulgarians.

Another answer given to the same journalist by a woman working in the shoe factory in the city of Tolboukhin (northeast Bulgaria): "We are preparing to visit Turkey. My father has some friends there and considers staying there with them. I don't want but no one can convince him. I will return back."

KOOPERATIVNO SELO's correspondent writes of the talk he had with a citizen of Tolboukhin who intended to leave for Turkey because "if I don't take a passport and leave they will put my house to fire. There are certain people going around the villages persuading the others to leave. Maybe they get paid from somewhere. Some have seen them. All my relatives are leaving... I hope nothing bad happens to us so I can come back.."

Describing his impressions from talks with people from the village of Grokhotno in the Rhodopes (south Bulgaria) Radoslav Radev writes in RABOTNICHESKO DELO: Somebody has skillfully managed to kindle psychosis and mistrust in these people, has suggested to them that very soon the recently adopted law for travel abroad will stop to operate. "I do not blame them: they simply needed full and timely information in order to overcome the anti-Bulgarian vilification campaign made every night by the Turkish radio stations and by volunteer "emissaries" from other parts of the country," writes Radoslav Radev.

The dispatches in the POGLED weekly, in OTECHESTVEN FRONT and NARODNA MLADEZH give an idea of the moods of the people leaving Bulgaria. Most of those that have stopped close to Kharmanli on the road to the southern border say before the POGLED correspondent: "We lived well, earned good money, nobody has offended us, everything was all right." To the question why do they leave with their luggage they answer: "we will go, see and then will decide".

From the Malko Turnovo border check-point OTECHESTVEN FRONT's correspondent informs of three families which have been made to come back by the Turkish authorities. Sulvena Chausheva says: "We were on Turkish territory when they made us return without explaining why." Her family and that of her sister, as well as their parents, passed the border and when they were settling the formalities in connection with the documents a Turkish officer told them to go back to Bulgaria. That happened during the night and the head of the Bulgarian border check-point let them spend the night there. Chausheva is from the city of Aytos and has friends in Istanbul which she had visited about ten years ago. They wanted to spent some time in Turkey and return. Her two-storeyed house in Bulgaria is still under construction and it has been left for cares to some of her relatives.

The journalist from the OTECHESTVEN FRONT daily writes also about the attempt of some Bulgarian and Turkish journalists to talk to each other across the border. His Turkish colleagues have been from the papers TERCUMAN, SABAH, TURKIYE. They have just introduced themselves to each other when a Turkish uniform officer appeared and "rather unceremoniously pushed them behind the white border line".

## Ovcharov Speaks at Dimitrov Birthday Celebration

*AU1606170089*

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1500 GMT on 16 June 1989 carries a live relay from the Georgi Kirkov Hall of the Sofia Party House to mark the 107th anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov.

Announcer says that "party and state leaders are attending" the meeting which was opened by Mincho Chuntov, secretary of the Sofia City Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Committee. He gives the floor to Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of planning and economy.

Ovcharov takes the floor at 1505 GMT. He begins by describing Bulgaria's economic and social development under Dimitrov's influence and his imposing personality as a leader of the Bulgarian and international communist movement. He mentions the "first Bulgarian antifascist uprising" in 1923 in which Dimitrov developed his "dialectics to which he remained loyal all his life."

Ovcharov further describes Dimitrov as a leader of the International and his role at the Leipzig trial which made him world famous. The speaker emphasizes Dimitrov's interest in the history and origins of the Bulgarian nation, as well as in the international problems of the international workers and communist movement.

Ovcharov dwells on Dimitrov's activities at the Seventh Comintern Congress and his role in establishing an "international people's front" for the struggle against fascism and war, his evaluation of the "agrarian" and other parties as allies of the communists, and of fascist Germany as the chief "threat of war" in that epoch.

The speaker then turns to Dimitrov's contribution to the antifascist struggle in Bulgaria, to overcoming "left-wing deviations" within the BCP.

Ovcharov points out that Dimitrov's activities in the immediate pre-war period took place during the period of Stalin's "anti-Leninist" course and describes the "heavy trials" to which the work of the Comintern was subjected during the Stalin era. He stresses that Dimitrov tried to protect Bulgarian political emigres who "suffered under repressions" and expresses gratitude to "Soviet comrades" today for helping Bulgaria to find out their names and commemorate them.

Ovcharov describes Bulgaria's development in the post-war period under Dimitrov's leadership under people's democracy and dwells on Dimitrov's role in the Fifth BCP Congress. He describes Dimitrov's ideas for socialist construction in Bulgaria, industrialization, etc as "correct under the then existing circumstances." Unfortunately, Ovcharov says, Bulgaria, like other socialist countries, was under the influence of the "personality cult" in the fifties, but he does not dwell on the period, going over immediately to the 1956 April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee and to Zhivkov's contribution to Bulgaria's subsequent economic and cultural development.

The April line helped the BCP to discover "existing contradictions" and to engage in restructuring today, to introduce a "new model of socialism" under the influence of the July and December plenums of the BCP Central Committee, Ovcharov adds. He then deals with "democracy and humanitarianism" which reflect Dimitrov's ideas and which inspire Bulgaria's present day policy.

The speaker further deals with Bulgaria's present economic development within CEMA and in international economic life, mentioning the company-based organization and the new "technological production method."

Ovcharov also points out that the present agricultural reforms are conform with Dimitrov's idea of the "Leninist cooperative plan."

The speaker then dwells on Dimitrov's efforts for the "unity of the BCP" and his struggle against bureaucratic trends in the party and manifestations of selfish interests on part of certain leaders.

Ovcharov mentions the cooperation with the Bulgarian Agrarian Union as a manifestation of "pluralism" and praises the cooperation with all other social forces and movements.

At 1435 GMT Ovcharov begins with his remarks on foreign policy.

The speaker turns to international affairs in stating as follows:

"The world of socialism has made its choice. It took on the path of overcoming the accumulated deformations and contradictions, heading toward a fundamental restructuring and democratization in all spheres of political and economic life.

"In accordance with the requirements of time, socialist Bulgaria is involved in a dynamic international activity. This activity is aimed at achieving lasting peace and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and the world.

"The fraternal interaction and cooperation with the Soviet Union plays an important role in our country's economic, political, and intellectual development. The basic coincidence of the goals of restructuring in our country and the Soviet Union opens new opportunities for a further upsurge in our mutual relations.

"Restructuring in the Soviet Union has always been a support for our own development. Fundamental changes have occurred in the political and economic system of the Soviet Union. The work of the Congress of People's Deputies revealed the tremendous advantages of socialist political democracy and showed that the incipient changes are irrevocable.

"The coincidence of our interests opens broad possibilities for the development of our cooperation with the other socialist countries and for asserting the new forms of cooperation in all spheres of life in accordance with the objective needs and requirements of the present, turning point in the development of the socialist countries.

"Our country is conducting a policy of open doors in the economic, political, and cultural sectors, a policy of implementing relations based on equal rights and equal advantage with the developed capitalist countries and with developing countries.

"With its constructive and peace-loving initiatives, with its energetic activities within the United Nations and at various international forums, our country contributes to the improvement of the international atmosphere, to strengthening mutual confidence.

"Through its active participation in the development of the Helsinki process, in the negotiations at the Vienna meeting, and through its dynamic policy in the Balkans, Bulgaria contributes to the construction of the common European home.

"In accordance with the Helsinki agreements, the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria adopted relevant laws which provide every Bulgarian citizen with the broadest opportunities of traveling and of having immediate access to the greatest achievements of human civilization. This policy conducted by our country is in full accordance with the new world realities and is a new expression of the consistent implementation of the philosophy of restructuring aimed at more democracy, and at achieving greater human rights for all citizens in our socialist motherland.

"The Bulgarian initiatives on transforming the Balkans into a zone, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, on signing a treaty among the countries in our region for environmental and ecological protection, as well as the proposal that all Balkan countries should sign bilateral agreements [two words indistinct] on good-neighborly relations, on renouncing territorial claims and on not allowing that the territories of the respective countries should be used for hostile goals and actions against each other, evoked wide international response.

"The world public opinion supported and favorably responded to our government's decision on unilateral reduction of the armed forces and the military budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

"With its realistic approach and actions our country has proved on several occasions that it is striving for the intensification of the disarmament and detente processes, for creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding on the Balkans.

"At the same time our people are categorically opposed to all efforts of speculating with new political thinking and to violating the principles of state sovereignty which are confirmed by the rules and norms of international life.

"As Comrade Todor Zhivkov's statement of 29 May 1989 points out the People's Republic of Bulgaria, like every other law-governed state will not allow any activities whatsoever directed against our country's peace and calm, at violating our Constitution and laws, at undermining the unity and cohesion of the Bulgarian socialist nation.

"This statement unmistakably appealed for the patriotic upsurge and unity of our socialist nation, for the mobilization of all people's efforts devoted to the implementation of the daily tasks, and for the renewal of our society, for our common upsurge.

"The principles expressed in Comrade Zhivkov's statement evoked nationwide approval and support."

Ovcharov ends his speech at 1446 GMT, by urging the Bulgarian people to follow Dimitrov's example in all their activities devoted to peace, democracy, and social progress.

The international anthem is played, after which the announcer reports the presence of "members and candidate members of the Politburo and secretaries of the BCP Central Committee," without mentioning any names. Zhivkov presence is not mentioned.

The life relay ends at 1450 GMT.

## Article Assesses Situation in China, Use of Army

*AU1806173089 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 24, 14 Jun 89 p 11*

[Vladimir Avramov article: "Causes"]

[Text] China is not only a distant country, it also has the tradition of only scantily reporting to the world about developments in the empire under the heavens. Indeed, in their long history, the Chinese people have shown that even at the price of much suffering, as well as of patience and insistence, which often are not understood by the Europeans, they can manage their problems alone. Let us hope that the present crisis, which caused the death of hundreds and significant destruction in Beijing (there is still not enough information about the provinces, let alone the villages) will also be overcome.

When one discusses the crisis in a certain country, he must invoke some of the causes. It appears that the economic reform, which is being implemented despite the numerous difficulties after the Cultural Revolution, has not fulfilled the expectations of many Chinese citizens for rapidly transforming the country. In addition, the reform was not accompanied by the necessary political changes. Along with this we must understand that the economic reform freed the potential creative forces of society and created conditions for releasing the "evil forces" of corruption, inflation, and organized crime. In fact, the student demonstrations, which continued for 1 and ½ months, were aimed mainly against those negative consequences of the economic reform. From the television reports, the pictures, and the stories of eyewitnesses, I received the impression that the demonstrations were peaceful events, albeit without official permission. Therefore the phrase "counterrevolutionary revolt" surprised me very much and until today I am not fully convinced that it best describes the mass events. Of course, when hundreds of thousands of people participate in a march various extremist groups could emerge.

History teaches us that one cannot overcome crisis situations by attaching bombastic labels to them. Therefore we read and listen with concern and pain to reports about the clashes in Beijing. The introduction of martial law most often produces results which do not correspond to good intentions, and when those results emerge, in most cases it is too late to reverse them, and the situation becomes more aggravated. The decision to use the Army for solving internal problems is always a difficult one. It is likely that the Chinese leadership has assessed what threats have appeared, and at what moment the fateful step was to be made. What is left for us is to hope that the decision, because of which there inevitably are also innocent victims, will produce the anticipated effect, that the clashes will stop as soon as possible, and that the pressing problems of the country will be solved through a peaceful dialogue.

In addition to those brief reflections on the situation in China I shall also mention a fact about the attitude of the U.S. press to the events. In addition to disseminating various rumors, which in their turn produced even more incredible rumors, the U.S. newspapers published malicious commentaries such as: "Did You See the Real Face of Communism?" The events in China, they say, show that we should not trust the USSR, and so forth. Our U.S. colleagues do not have more information than I do, for example. While not everybody in the United States thinks in the same manner, the commentaries that were published testify to the existence of influential opposition to the new aspects of international politics.

## Army General Dzhurov Meets Yazov in Moscow

*AU1706171589 Sofia BTA in English*
*1638 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Moscow, June 17 (BTA)—Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and minister of defense of Bulgaria, is paying a business visit to Moscow. He had a meeting with Army General Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU and minister of defense of the USSR. At the meeting which passed in atmosphere of friendship and consensus the two ministers discussed some matters of mutual interest.

They also discussed some questions of the further development and extension of cooperation in the military field, the strengthening of the ties and the contacts between the two Armies and problems related to the realization of the military doctrine and the implementation of the decisions for the reduction of armed forces.

Army General Petr Lushev, deputy minister of defense of the USSR and commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, attended the meeting.

## Zhivkov Talks With USSR's Vladimir Gusev

*AU1606174189 Sofia BTA in English*
*1238 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Sofia, June 16 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, received today Mr Vladimir Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. They discussed the possibilities for further expansion of cooperation in the conditions of renewal and the stress was laid mainly on the priority branches, which are of decisive importance along the way of structural and technological change in economy, and for the development of the production forces. It is particularly important to use new more efficient types of economic and market integration which are prerequisite for the fuller use of the created material and technical basis in machine building, electronics, biotechnologies, the chemical industry, the two sides stressed. In the solution of the common tasks it is particularly important to unite the possibilities in the sphere of education by starting back with the training of cadres in the higher educational establishments, by fundamental researches and projecting activity.

It was stressed that in a short period of time long-term strategical solutions will be prepared and coordinated in the above-mentioned priority branches and in this relation intergovernmental agreements will be signed.

## Atanasov Receives Gusev

*AU1606174089 Sofia BTA in English*
*1501 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Sofia, June 16 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Mr Vladimir Gusev, vice chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is visiting here.

The sides briefed each other on the comprehensive restructuring carried out in the two countries. Particular attention was paid to economic contacts and more specifically to the ties in the chemical and the pulp and paper industries and in the related branches of mechanical engineering.

The sides agreed that cooperation is progressing but along with that they stressed that the new conditions require new organisational and economic forms of interaction: capital movement, joint research efforts, joint personnel training, etc.

Questions concerning the more adequate supply of the two countries' markets with consumer goods were also on the agenda.

An emphasis was laid on the need to alter the mechanism of work within the CMEA, which will enhance the efficiency of cooperation.

The meeting was attended by Mr Petko Danchev, president of the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association.

## Ovcharov Meets USSR's Maslyukov in Moscow

*AU1506203289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] The future development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Bulgaria and the USSR—this was the main topic discussed at the meeting in Moscow between Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of planning and economy, and Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee. Special attention was devoted to coordinating the national economic plans for the period of 1991-95.

During the meeting it was pointed out that as a result of restructuring in the two countries, conditions have been created of strengthening integration relations between the two countries' economies. Practical measures were adopted on working out and solving the tasks related to further developing and strengthening economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

## CPSU Central Committee Group Visit Reported

*AU1606205589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] In accordance with the international cooperation plan, a working group of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Nikolay Lagutkin, secretary of the Penza Oblast CPSU Committee, is visiting our country.

The Soviet guests held meetings at the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, at the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, at the Lovech Oblast BCP Committee, and the Pleven Municipal BCP Committee. They visited various enterprises and institutes, and agricultural farms throughout the country.

The CPSU working group was received by Comrade Vasil Tsanov.

## Tanchev Receives Soviet Public Figure Silin

*AU1606185189 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 15 Jun 89 p 1*

[Text] Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first deputy chairman of the State Council, received in the "Aleksandur Stamboliyski" Memorial House in Sofia Yevgeniy Silin, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, who has been visiting Bulgaria to take part in the meeting of representatives of agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations from the states participating in the CSCE.

During the conversation emphasis was laid on the great importance of the new political thinking and the Soviet initiatives put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev. It was pointed out that the restructuring in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is inseparably linked with the restructuring in international relations. The new conditions and the new situation in the world create even greater opportunities for the activity and rallying of the agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations in support of the Helsinki and Vienna accords, disarmament, and a new international order.

In this context, the contribution was noted of the Varna meeting, which discussed new ideas and initiatives for agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations to make contributions to the benefit of the all-European process.

The interlocutors stated that the Soviet-American dialogue and the latest proposals for reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe increase the hopes for achieving progress in disarmament.

## Fojtik Fears 'Counterrevolution' in Hungary

*LD1606191789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Jun 89*

["Substantial excerpt" of speech by Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, at rally in Presov to mark the 70th annivesary of the Slovak Republic of Soviets—recorded]

[Text] We remember today with emotion and esteem the revolutionary events that took place 7 decades ago in southern and eastern Slovakia. It was the first attempt to win the power of the workers, the power of working people in Czechoslovakia. It did not have lasting success, and at the time it could not have. We have seen that man's yearning for a free life, for a social system in which he can decide his own fate, to develop and implement creative forces and abilities for the benefit of society, is unconquerable. And we base our sober but indomitable optimism or certainty, our conviction of the correctness of the cause of socialism and its final victory, on this finding. The platform we adopted in harmony with the conclusions of the 17th party congress, at the December session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee in 1987, gives us strength and boldness in the struggle for the strengthening and further development of socialism in our country, for the deep restructuring of society. The working out and the gradual and considered fulfillment of this platform is at the center of our attention and of all our efforts. The meaning of this activity of ours is precisely to add to the value of the revolutionary legacy of the past, with such social changes which will open wide the way for socialism, which has put down healthy and firm roots in Czechoslovakia, for its further spread, corresponding to the new needs and demands of development.

Socialism is true democracy, the creative activity of the workers, the continued growth of their influence on administration of the state and all public affairs.

Socialism means constant progress, the development of production forces serving the people, and the satisfaction of people's rational needs. It is the harmony of people with nature and the economical use of its irreplaceable richness.

Socialism means realistic humanism, a social order in which legality is important and in which the supreme principle is the respect for the human personality, respect for his vight to live life to the full in peace and engaged in creative activities. [applause]

There are, no doubt, many phenomena which cause us guilt because our practice differs from these ideals. Therefore, we have to strive for their implementation with even greater determination—to push them through consistently, not to allow any deformations of the principles of our policy. The CPCZ has adopted a platform of deep social restructuring, economic reform, and democratization aimed precisely at this. In this way, the CPCZ continues the mission with which it was born, thereby showing its loyalty to the legacy of revolutionary fighters of the past.

We interpret the restructuring which we are carrying out as important work through which we are continuing the revolution in new conditions of development, which constantly confront us with ever more demanding tasks. We do not hide the difficulties through which we are going in this context.

Nevertheless, we are not forced to carry out restructuring because of the apparent stagnation and decline of socialism, as our opponents insist. They see the processes that are under way in some socialist countries and that are characterized as radical reforms, as an impending disintegration of the socialist system, the beginning of the end for it, and the way to start restoring capitalism.

It is not surprising that they want to help this process, and that they act accordingly. Those who are—according to their ideas—most advanced in dismantling socialism, are praised and appreciated by them. They even speak about a new Marshall Plan—this time for these states. And those who do not want to embark on this are exposed by them to shameless attacks and economic pressure. In accordance with this strategy, through which they count on defeating socialism without a war—to use an expression by former U.S. President Nixon—our country is not the last place they attack. They do not spare us of any offensive adjectives addressed to the CPCZ and especially its present leadership. And not only that—they give all kinds of support to elements through whose help they would like to form opposition groups in our country, force us to legalize them, and bring our society into chaos.

Last year, as well as last January, have brought us important warning lessons. It is clear that we can only successfully accomplish the restructuring of society under conditions of political stability, on the basis of creative activity of the National Front, the people's firm trust in party policy—for which the party daily fights and which it achieves with its policy corresponding to the people's interest in socialism.

There is no need to cover up anything. It is not easy. Many are worried about the fate of socialism, which is not only under the influence of Western propaganda. This is a reflection of the complicated and contradictory development which is taking place in some Warsaw Pact countries, or more precisely in those that are so highly appreciated in the West.

Antisocialist forces of various types are clearly lifting their heads and are going onto the offensive. Our experiences since 1968 tell us not to become prey to illusions or any self-delusion. In more than one case our opponents, the counterrevolutionary forces, stand under the banner of the renewal of socialism. This is taking place at the present time, for example, in the country of our southern neighbors, the People's Republic of Hungary. Unscrupulous attacks on Comrade Janos Kadar, on the policy as a whole of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and on socialism, are filling the pages of that country's press. They are being heard at legal gatherings. Even attacks on our party and on our country are not absent there.

As a rule, counterrevolution clothes itself in nationalist garb. It is not surprising that our people are concerned about this development. They are afraid for what they hold most dear—the values of socialism which have international validity, our socialist community, and fraternal relations which are among the most significant gains of postwar development. We hope that the forces faithful to socialism in the People's Republic of Hungary will mobilize themselves. We sincerely wish that, and certainly it is the wish of progressive people—and not only in our country.

Some circles in the West would like to see the commemorative funeral of Imre Nagy which took place this morning in Budapest, as the symbolic funeral of socialism in that country. We believe that, on the contrary, it will activate those who link the future of the Hungarian People's Republic with socialism. [applause]

Comrades, we pay tribute to the heroes of the Slovak Soviet Republic and all those who fought for the victory of the ideals of socialism in our country. Our socialist present was born from their struggles and the sacrifices they made. Let us do everything to ensure that socialism in our homeland continues to strengthen and develop, so that we successfully carry out the great work of the restructuring of society, the true rebirth of socialism.

May our homeland, the multinational Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, be strong and united, with the Gottwald slogan: Forward, not a step back! [applause]

## Commentary on Imre Nagy Funeral in Hungary

### Socialist Development 'Blackened'

*LD1806163289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 18 Jun 89*

[Michal Berko commentary]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The results of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Bonn and developments in Poland are not the only evidence of the sensitive period in which Europe finds itself. The event that provided the most vivid example of the context for East-West relations was the funeral and oration for former Hungarian Premier Imre Nagy and his closest colleagues who were executed 31 years ago. The peaceful and dignified course of the ceremony gradually changed as various speakers approached the microphone. There were appeals that had nothing in common with this act symbolizing reconciliation and the process of change and reform. Socialist development in Hungary was blackened and attacks against the party and the policy of the Soviet Union in the past were also heard; there was also nationalism in its crudest form, including casting doubt on the realities of postwar development in Europe and appeals for the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact. On the eve of the funeral, there was even talk of the occupation of Hungary by Soviet troops in 1945.

Such statements—and numerous similar radical and extremist statements, slogans, and attacks on the party and government—even shocked many in the West. Even people who are far from being suspected of any symphathies toward socialism such as, for example, a commentator heading the so-called Eastern bureau in Austrian radio and television, Paul Lenlei, had to admit that this had gone over the limit of acceptability. Let us add that U.S. President George Bush is planning to visit Hungary and we must openly ask ourselves what his aim is and what he will bring with him.

Europe at a crossroads: The dramatic events of the past days have shown that despite everything that has been achieved on the path to a secure Europe and peace we are all faced with a lot of work. The concern which the manifestations of extremism and radicalism in some countries of Europe caused among our inhabitants is justified and forces us to think about responsibility for the development of not just socialism, alliance relations, and friendship but also peace on the continent.

### Correspondent Views Funeral

*LD1706192489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 17 Jun 89*

*[Report by correspondent Borec]*

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The latest issue of the weekly HETI VILAGGAZDASAG carried results of a public opinion poll carried out in Budapest before yesterday's burial of Imre Nagy. According to the poll, 49 percent of those questioned agreed with the view that the opposition wanted to use the burial as a weapon against the country's current leadership. Although the organizer of the mourning assembly on Heroes Square—the Committee for Historical Justice—asked the participants to refrain from all political activities, many speakers were deaf to this appeal. In front of 250,000 people gathered there, sharp attacks on the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] and the socialist system were heard as well as nationalist appeals and oaths. Many dailies published the text of them.

Among other speeches, there was a speech by Viktor Orban, a representative of the Federation of Young Democrats—FIDESZ—who took it upon himself to speak on behalf of Hungarian youth. Among other things, he said that democracy and communism are incompatible.

Possibly because of just such speeches, a reference to national reconciliation was missing in newspaper headlines. The daily NEPSZABADSAG also quoted Comrade Jan Fojtik's comments made yesterday in Presov: Some circles in the West would like to view today's burial of Imre Nagy as the funeral of socialism in Hungary. We believe that on the contrary it will activate those who link the future of Hungary with socialism.

### Nagy's 'Vacillating' Personality

*LD1506112389 Prague CTK in English*
*1105 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Prague June 15 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party daily RUDE PRAVO today carried an article devoted to the personality of Imre Nagy, Hungarian premier at the time of the tragic events of October and November 1956 who has executed in June 1958.

Headlined "How It Was in Budapest", the article said inter alia: "In Hungary's search for solutions to the problems of those days, a critical and in some aspects clearly negative view was taken on the previous past decades of the country's history." Surveying the events in Hungary from October 23 to November 11, 1956, the daily pointed out among other things that on October 31, Imre Nagy declared Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty and on November 1 the state's neutrality.

The daily underlined that "the evidence provided by documents confirms that (Imre Nagy's) views and decisions in those dramatic days were really vacillating and contradicting."

"The personality of Imre Nagy is full of contrasts," the paper said in conclusion and added that "it must not be forgotten that his bequest as an exponent of the Hungarian revolutionary movement is being arrogated, with a stress laid on martyrdom, by real opponents of socialism."

### Hungarian Builders Return to Gabcikovo

*AU1706192589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak*
*14 Jun 89 p 1*

[CTK report: "On the Building Site Again; Hungarian Contractors Continue in Gabcikovo"]

[Text] Bratislava—No order was issued to suspend the work by Hungarian contractors on some sections of the Gabcikovo dam project at the beginning of June and it was caused by a misunderstanding, said State Secretary Laszlo Udvari, extraordinary plenipotentiary of the Hungarian People's Republic, during talks held in Bratislava at the end of last week.

On the basis of his note, construction work was to be resumed on these sections on Monday [12 June]. According to eyewitnesses, Hungarian contractors did indeed once again resume their construction work and are proceeding in harmony with the plan and valid agreements.

The justified anxiety of the Czechoslovak side was aroused during the past week, particularly by the fact that on the right hand side of the reservoir at Hrusov-Dunakiliti between Cunovo and Petrzalka, which is subject to Hungarian supply, the Hungarian construction workers not only suspended their work, but also withdrew their mobile construction machinery to Hungarian territory. They also suspended work with their own machinery on the communication and deflection dam between the Dunakiliti reservoir and the feeding channel and also on the waste channel from the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power plant. However, they continued to work on the Dunakiliti dam and also on the levees associated with the construction of the Nagymaros dam in the region of Lower Ipel and Lower Hron on Czechoslovak territory without interruption.

According to the agreement between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic on the construction and operation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam system on the Danube, the investment costs for the construction of the system are divided in half. Because the sections on CSSR territory are more comprehensive and financially more demanding, the Hungarian side is also participating in the construction of the Gabcikovo dam.

### CSSR-Polish Currency Exchange Rates Discussed

*AU1706191489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech*
*14 Jun 89 p 2*

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—CSSR Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina received Andrzej Wroblewski, minister of finance of the Polish People's Republic [PPR], who is paying a working visit to the CSSR, in Prague on Tuesday [13 June].

They discussed the current developments in the CSSR and the PPR. They paid particular attention to issues pertaining to Czechoslovak-Polish cooperation in the coming period, and stressed that the traditional relations in the economic sphere are of great importance for the solution of issues connected with the further economic development of the two fraternal countries. They noted that it is necessary to make use of the untapped potential which exists in that sphere. They also exchanged views on deepening cooperation within the CEMA framework.

The reception was attended by Woldzimierz Mokrzysz Czak, PPR ambassador to the CSSR.

In Prague, on the same day, Jan Stejskal, CSSR minister of finance, discussed with Andrzej Wroblewski issues concerning mutual exchange rates of the national currencies, and further bilateral cooperation in the sphere of finance within the CEMA framework.

## Jozef Lenart Receives Chinese Ambassador

*LD1606162589 Prague CTK in English*
*1512 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Prague June 16 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart and Chinese Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Wang Xingdao assessed here Friday topical issues of the construction of socialism in their countries and further promotion of bilateral cooperation.

Referring to the latest developments in China, the Czechoslovak official voiced conviction that the Chinese people, led by their Communist Party, will succeed in overcoming problems and finding a solution to the present situation, which would ensure further development of socialism and would be in harmony with the interests of the masses.

## Obzina, Algayer Receive U.S. Entrepreneur

*AU1706173589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech*
*14 Jun 89 p 2*

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—CSSR Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina received Mario Castillo, a representative of American entrepreneurial circles, who is active in the sphere of agriculture and who is currently paying a visit to Czechoslovakia, in Prague on Tuesday [13 June].

They favored deepening economic cooperation between the two countries in the coming period, and discussed some concrete subjects pertaining, in particular, to agriculture and the food industry.

The reception was attended by Jaromir Algayer, CSSR minister of agriculture and food, who discussed with the American guest, on the same day, the expansion of cooperation mn the agricultural-industrial sphere, concentrating, in particular, on foreign trade.

## Gorbachev Greets CSSR on Return From FRG

*LD1606130789 Prague Television Service in Czech*
*2000 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] When flying over the Czechoslovak territory on his way back home from his official visit to the FRG, Comrade Mioheil Corbechev sent a telegram of greetings to Comrades Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak today. He expressed in it, among other things, his deep conviction that close cooperation and joint activity between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia correspond to the vital interests of the nations of our country, peace and stability in Europe.

## Jakes Congratulates Indian Leader on Birthday

*AU1606175589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak*
*15 Jun 89 p 1*

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Elamkulath Mara Sankaran Namboodiripan, general secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), celebrated his 80th birthday yesterday. Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, has sent him a congratulatory telegram on his anniversary.

## Jakes Address to Central Committee Published

*AU1906105089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech*
*16 Jun 89 p 2*

["Closing Address by Milos Jakes, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, at the 14th CPCZ Central Committee Session" in Prague Castle's Spanish Hall on 15 June]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, at the close of our session I would like, above all, to thank the party's Central Committee for its support for the draft documents submitted—the report on the party's activity following the 13th Central Committee session and its further tasks, the questions concerning scientific and technological development and the work of the engineering complex, which were submitted by Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the Central Committee, in his opening speech, as well as for its support for the cadre proposals submitted. This is an expression of the unity of approach of the party's Central Committee, which in present conditions is of exceptional importance. This does not mean that there are no questions to which this or that comrade adopts a critical stand or who regards the solution of other problems as being more important. This is natural because there will always be differences of views. On the contrary, it is important that they are voiced and examined jointly because real unity and correct decisions are based on this.

I would like to commend the active attitude of members and candidate members of the party's Central Committee on the problems discussed. Thirty-seven comrades spoke during the debate and it is especially important that in addition to support, stimulating suggestions, experiences, and critical remarks were aired, also concerning the work of the Central Committee and the activity of its executive bodies. This will be examined responsibly by the Presidium and Secretariat of the party's Central Committee, and both will proceed from their conclusions in their future work.

We have adopted a position on checking the implementation of the resolution on scientific and technological development in metallurgy, machine-building, and electrical engineering. This expresses the view of the party's Central Committee on the current situation in these areas and on the fulfillment to date of the tasks set. Its main purpose is to unite the course of action of party organs and organizations, and of all Communists, in tackling specific questions and problems which are connected with the development and application of science and technology, with raising the performance of the engineering complex in the period up to the 18th party congress, and with proposals for the preparation of congress resolutions.

The adoption of the standpoint is, naturally, only a beginning, and it was rightly stressed that it is necessary to proceed methodically. It is not for the Central Committee to decide every question in a totally specific manner. This is the duty of the relevant governments and Communists who are responsible for individual areas in central bodies and in production.

The decisive thing now will be the practical implementation of the requirements expressed in the standpoint, which were talked about in detail in the discussion. The critical and demanding analysis of the application of science and technology at individual workplaces with the aim of achieving results comparable to leading producers must become the point of departure everywhere. This is important and fundamental. Scientific and technical progress, the main bearer of which is the engineering complex, as was correctly said in the discussion, is a truly strategic affair. Changes in the structure of our economy, with the correct investment policy in capital construction, and by perfecting management are the prerequisites for the intensification of the national economy, for increasing the efficiency of production, the technical level and quality of production, and its ability to compete on world markets, and also for solutions to the ecological problems that give rise to continually greater concern. Without a more decisive approach in these areas we will not be able to accelerate socioeconomic development nor secure the necessary creation of resources and the further improvement in the standard of living of the people.

In this connection I would like to single out the role played by the workers of the scientific and technological front, who have a high responsibility toward society. It is necessary to create better conditions for their work but also to place higher demands on them, especially as regards the results of their activity. This requires a parting of the ways with complacency as well as with equal remuneration everywhere. The faster and more effective application of the findings of science and technology calls for a combined effort on the part of the technical intelligentsia and of the working class, and in this sense it is necessary to return again to the spirit of the Prague challenge. It also requires the reinforcement of the autonomous economic and financial links between research and production. Management workers, above all, have the decisive responsibility in this respect.

Great emphasis also needs to be placed on providing a high standard of training for cadres, especially from the viewpoint of their ability to develop and apply science and technology, and to work and manage in new economic conditions. Yes, it is right that we take a critical view of problems and shortcomings that arise because we cannot do otherwise.

In comparison with other developed countries we are lagging behind to a certain extent. But we cannot also be blind to the fact that there are concrete results here. They were spoken of by Comrade Riman and by others. It is also necessary to take a very critical approach in this area but not in such a way as to create a nihilistic attitude toward what we have done and what we can do. And this concerns us personally—how we are able to discuss these questions and how we are able to explain them.

It has been rightly stressed here that the sphere of scientific-technical development must be at the center of attention of the party, of its organs and organizations, of Communists in all sections of the life of society. The main thing is to create the desired atmosphere, conditions for the development of creative initiative in scientific research, labor collectives in production, support for innovative activity, and to fight against mediocrity, in particular against laziness, which is often deeply entrenched. This is how one has to approach the fulfillment of tasks for this year, above all with respect to improving the situation on the market, and to preparation of the plan for next year. By setting out the program of economic and social restructuring the party has demonstrated its ability to provide answers to the questions of the times, to set out realistic prospects for the further socialist development of our society. Today, too, we have been saying that the program must be implemented consistently and we must mobilize the broadest strata of the people for the purpose of its fulfillment.

We have decided to do certain things, and we are of the opinion that the decision is correct. That is why one must follow the aim with patience and tenacity. Results will not materialize without this. Questions are arising about what restructuring has brought. When discussing them, one must see that the new economic mechanism is not working yet. In fact, we are in a preparatory period. Organizational, legislative, and ideological preparation of the reform is under way; we are becoming acquainted with the conditions in which we will conduct business as of 1 January next year. One cannot expect that by the very proclamation of restructuring all problems will be solved tomorrow. The Central Committee session pointed out several times that we must expect certain complications and problems to arise. We would like to apply new methods of management and not everything can be successful at the very first go. Therefore, we are entering the stage when the old ceases to be valid and the new is not yet functioning. That is why one has to have a certain kind of patience. However, not the kind of patience that will prevent us from fulfilling the tasks set for the progress of restructuring.

When we talk about restructuring, about what it should bring, it is necessary to clearly realize that social guarantees cannot be built on low performance and on equal remuneration. The purpose of restructuring is precisely to counter and eliminate such phenomena. Personal responsibility is coming to the fore everywhere, especially in the managerial sphere, from the top to the bottom. It is necessary to put an end at every level to anonymous and incompetent decisionmaking. It was rightly said that it is necessary to target tasks on specific persons and not on institutions behind which everyone hides, and to carry out consistant supervision and draw conclusions. We talk about this frequently but, because of some kind of considerateness, to avoid conflicts, we are still not succeeding in promoting this style of work. And little support is still being given to those comrades—including on the part of our organs and organizations—who want to assert and apply such a style of work consistently.

We have to continue to devote serious attention to preparing for the 18th party congress. The main thing to which the entire precongress period should contribute is increasing the party's militancy and strengthening its unity and ideological cohesion on the platform of our policy of restructuring and democratization. In order to do so it is necessary to make full use of annual members' meetings and party conferences, and indeed our session discussed these matters at length and rightly so.

It is necessary—and this is especially important—to increase the self-confidence of Communists. There is nothing to be ashamed of. There is no reason for the pessimism and nihilism which is creeping in among party members. We have a specific program. The results we have achieved in the past are not small, although we rightly point out that they could have been greater. The decisive thing, however, is that despite all the problems and obstacles that have emerged we have built socialism in our country.

I believe that it is within our capabilities to cope with the present-day tasks. As a revolutionary party we are duty-bound to preserve and develop fully all enduring values of socialism and to make all-around use of its advantages. This requires that we work well and manage effectively everywhere. It is necessary to believe in our own strength, to have respect for honest work, not to spread skepticism, to raise one's head, and to go forward. This is the task ahead of us.

## Biographies of New Central Committee Members

*LD1606085489 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] We shall now acquaint you with short biographies of newly elected officials of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee.

Comrade Ivan Knotek was born in Senica on 26 August 1936. He has been a member of the CPCZ since 1954. He comes from a working class family.

After completing his secondary education he worked in Zemianske Sady as an instructor, teacher, and director of an agricultural apprenticeship center and of a center's farm. As an external student he graduated from the Higher Economic College in Nitra and is a Candidate of Economic Sciences.

In 1969 he was elected the leading secretary of the district party committee in Galanta and in 1980 he became a secretary for party work in agriculture of the West Slovak regional party committee. In 1987 Comrade Knotek was elected to the office of leading secretary of West Slovak regional party committee and in 1988 to the office of secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee. Last year he became the Slovak premier and deputy federal premier. Since 1988, he has also been a member of the Presidiums of the CPCZ and CPSL Central Committees.

Comrade Pavel Hrivnak was born at Maly Cepcin in Martin District on 9 October 1931. He has been a CPCZ member since 1956. He comes from a working class family.

After graduating from Bratislava Technical University in 1954 he worked et$the Chemosvit Svit national enterprise and later in the Chemical Fiber Research Unit, the director of which he became in 1969. From 1970 he was a director of Chemon in Humenne and in 1974-1982 he was a deputy minister of industry of the Slovak Socialist Republic and a government commissioner for the construction of paper and pulp mills in Ruzomberok. In 1982-84 he was a minister of industry and then he became a deputy [Slovak] premier and chairman of the Slovak Planning Commission. In 1986 Comrade Hrivnak was appointed deputy federal tremier and last year he was appointed minister entrusted with managing the Federal Price Office. Since 1988 he has been the first deputy federal premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development.

Comrade Miroslav Zajic was born in Uhenske Hradiste on 9 April 1935. He comes from a working class family. After finishing his secondary education in 1955 he worked as a plant grower and agronomist in Otrokovice. In 1964 he started to work at the district party committee; in 1969 he became a secretary of the Cooperative Farmers Union; in 1970 he became a director of the District Agricultural Administration Centre in Gottwaldov. As an external student he graduated from the Higher Agricultural College and in 1971 he was elected a secretary for party work in agriculture of the district party committee in Gottwaldov. After graduating from a 2-year course at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, he was elected in 1982 a secretary for party work in agriculture of the South Moravian regional party committee. Since 1987 he has been a head of department for party work in agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management of the CPCZ Central Committee.

### Hungarian Attacks Against USSR, MSZMP Noted

*LD1706101789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—On Friday in Budapest, there were vehement attacks against the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the USSR at a rally for former Hungarian Prime Minister Nagy and other politicians, who were accused of high treason in connection with the events in 1956 and sentenced to death.

Several opposition spokesmen demanded Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the establishment of a "neutral" Hungary.

### Il-62 Crash Reported at East Berlin Airport

*LD1706085989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0807 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—For as yet unknown reasons, an Il-62 Interflug aircraft with 103 persons on board overran the take-off and landing runway by about 500 meters and went into an open field upon take off from Schoenefeld Airport for Moscow this morning. It caught fire. A number of passengers were able to leave the aircraft safely by using the emergency exits. Fire engines and other rescue services are working continuously. It is possible that there are deaths and injuries. Air traffic at Schoenefeld has been suspended.

### Five Killed in Crash

*LD1706090989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0849 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] [No placename as received] (ADN)—It has now been reported that there were 103 passengers and 10 crew members on board. Due to the tireless work of numerous fire engines, the fire was extinguished after about an hour.

According to present information five passengers were found dead. Twelve seriously injured persons were immediately taken to hospitals in Koepenick and Koenigs Wusterhausen and are receiving every possible medical attention.

Air traffic, suspended because of the accident, was partly resumed at Schoenefeld airport at around 0950.

### USSR Cables Condolences

*LD1706204889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1936 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The USSR Council of Ministers has addressed the following telegram of condolences to Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers:

In connection with the aircraft accident on the Interflug Airline at Berlin-Schoenefeld in which people lost their lives, we convey to you our deep sympathy. We ask you to convey to the families and relatives of the dead and injured our deep sympathy.

### Slyunkov Views Economic Cooperation With GDR

*AU0506135489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Jun 89 p 3*

[Interview with Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, by unidentified NEUES DEUTSCHLAND interviewer: "Continuity and Dynamism Characterize Cooperation Between GDR and USSR"; date, place not given]

[Text] Question: In 1989, the GDR is celebrating the 40th anniversary of its founding. At all stages of building socialism in the GDR, cooperation with the Soviet Union has played a vital role for the Republic. Which basic trends of the development of trade and economic relations between our countries over the past few years would you like to stress?

Answer: If one tries to answer your question briefly, one can say that our cooperation has always been characterized by its continuity, its comprehensive character, and its dynamism. At every stage specific tasks were fulfilled in line with the given particularities and the priorities of socioeconomic development in our countries.

Let us take the postwar years, for example. The extraordinarily great importance of the Soviet deliveries for normalizing economic and cultural life in the GDR is known. Furthermore, the economic and technical aid of the Soviet Union to the young Republic contributed to the development of many branches, which are still playing an important role.

Over the past years the economic relations between our countries have become a factor for successfully fulfilling tasks in economy, science, and technology. This cooperation, whose forms are being constantly enriched and whose dimensions are being constantly expanded, is unprecedented in character and scope, and is taking place completely in the spirit of the agreements between Comrades Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker. My visit to the GDR in January 1989 also served to implement these agreements, which will lead to a qualitatively new level of our cooperation. At that time, the basic directions of economic cooperation between the USSR and the GDR were agreed on, and specific measures for their further development were taken.

Among the dominating trends that characterize the nature of our trade and economic relations, the orientation toward top achievements of scientific-technological progress must be particularly emphasized.

Microelectronics, robot construction, biotechnology, electronic computer technology, and the production of flexible manufacturing systems and new materials are among the priority sectors of our cooperation. The current stage is characterized by concentrating efforts at key directions of scientific-technological progress.

Another qualitative characteristic of the current stage—and this is to be particularly emphasized here—is the scientifically founded working out of long-term directions of trade and economic relations, as well as of scientific-technological cooperation between the USSR and the GDR. Here we base our actions on documents such as the "Long-Term Program of the Development of Cooperation Between the USSR and the GDR in Science, Technology, and Production for the Period Through the Year 2000" and the "Concept of Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the USSR and the GDR Through the Year 2000."

Concerning trade, changes can be seen above all in the considerable increase of mutual goods deliveries. In 1988, they amounted to R14.2 billion, and thus had increased almost 50-fold compared with 1949. Over the past years, however, a trend of decline in goods turnover has emerged that has mainly been due to the unfavorable prices for raw materials and fuels. In our view, the accelerated change in the structure of Soviet exports by raising the proportion of machinery and equipment will make it possible to overcome this trend and guarantee dynamic growth in trade.

The development of cooperation is of basic importance in such forms as direct relations and joint enterprises. They provide us with the opportunity to deepen the international division of labor between our countries.

Question: Mutual trade and cooperation belong to the determining factors of the economic development of the GDR and the Soviet Union. How do you assess the importance of GDR deliveries to the national economy of the USSR?

Answer: I am not exaggerating if I say that these deliveries contribute to the accelerated development of many branches of our national economy and to better meet the demand of the Soviet people in consumer goods. The GDR deliveries cover one-fifth of the annual import demand of the USSR in machinery and equipment. Part of this is destined for new technical equipment for main branches of our industry, such as chemistry, petrochemistry, metallurgy, machine building, and the transport sector, as well as for the agricultural-industrial complex. Your deliveries of products of microelectronics, computer technology, and social technical equipment for their production are of important scope.

Chemical products and consumer goods are also traditional import goods from the GDR. During the current 5-year plan, we will receive from the GDR high-pressure polyethylene, polyurethane, varnishes, paints, pesticides, household chemicals, clothes and knitwear, leather goods, pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, tableware, and furniture.

I would like to point out that the comprehensive, long-term, and stable Soviet offers have played, and continue to play, an important role in the development and perfection of the export basis and of the entire national economic complex of the GDR. It is also of importance—and this is one of the advantages of our relations—that many products from the GDR are the result of previous development work that was done on the basis of the mutually advantageous scientific-technological cooperation together with Soviet partners.

Question: The orientation toward accelerating scientific-technological progress and applying key technologies determines the strategic line of the development of our countries' national economies. In your view, how comprehensively are the results achieved in this respect reflected in our trade relations and our economic cooperation?

Answer: I have already said that the requirements of scientific-technological progress are reflected to an increasing degree in trade and in economic cooperation between the USSR and the GDR. In this connection, we do not strive only and above all for exchange of the latest and most modern equipment, materials, technologies, and so on. The main issue for us is the development and deepening of scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries in all their stages. Today this cooperation is realized both within the framework of the CEMA comprehensive program for scientific-technological progress through the year 2000, and bilaterally on the basis of various branch programs.

One could give many examples of how joint efforts have led to the development of products with top technical standards that cause an expansion of our mutual deliveries. However, this is not yet the rule. So far one cannot yet say that we have made enough progress. The task of reaching the highest possible scientific-technological level is not posed everywhere. The speed of structural renewal of the mutual goods deliveries is not yet sufficient. Despite this, positive changes have taken place recently. The partners are posing higher demands on each other. On the agenda are a number of large scientific-technological projects whose joint realization will lead to a considerable raising of the level of development work, which will allow higher-quality goods to be included in trade.

Great reserves can be tapped in the development of new forms of cooperation. Direct relations, the establishment of joint enterprises and collectives of scientists and experts—all this contributes to the faster development and introduction in production of top modern equipment and technologies.

A significant example of the successful bilateral cooperation between the USSR and the GDR in the key technologies, is the conclusion of an agreement at the 1989 Leipzig Spring Fair between the GDR Ministry of Electrical Engineering and Electronics and the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems on the establishment of a joint production center—called ZENTRON—for working out software as well as information and computer systems.

Question: It is known that our countries attach great importance to new forms of cooperation. However, this process does not take place without difficulties. What, do you think, are the main reasons for the slow introduction of new forms of economic cooperation?

Answer: In this connection, one must say that the efficient use of new forms of cooperation depends on some general problems that exist within CEMA. These include:

—Considerable differences in development of the economies of the individual CEMA countries in the areas of labor productivity, the technical standard, and the quality of the goods, supplies to the domestic market, and the degree of orientation towards the external market;
—Differences in the economic mechanisms in the CEMA member countries;
—The imperfect pricing system within CEMA and the resulting problem of convertibility of the transferrable ruble and the currencies of the individual CEMA countries;
—The different degree of independence of the bodies of foreign trade in the various countries.

Many of these problems also apply to cooperation between the USSR and the However, we are not in favor of waiting until all problems have been solved and starting, only then, with actively introducing new forms of cooperation. I think that one must engage in parallel actions. It is in our joint interest to introduce new forms more boldly and energetically.

Question: In the USSR there is a broad discussion about questions of restructuring foreign trade management. In this connection, it was also said that granting the right to independent foreign trade work to practically all enterprises, economic organs, and cooperatives almost means a renunciation of the state's foreign trade monopoly. How justified is such a conclusion in your view, and is it not true that essential advantages of the state's foreign trade monopoly are lost because of the current changes?

Answer: The right to independent foreign trade work does not mean a deviation from the state's foreign trade monopoly. In the past this monopoly was equated with the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Now we have established a system that does not contain regulation of exports and imports by an authority, but by the state. A regulation for the obligatory registering of the enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations that conduct export-import deals, has been worked out.

In order to prevent unfair competition or actions that would harm the state, the State Foreign Trade Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers was given the right to suspend—at the direction of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the councils of ministers of the USSR republics—export-import deals by organizations that have the right to engage in independent foreign trade work.

In addition, the state regulation of foreign trade work envisages operational measures, which mainly consist in the granting of licenses. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations has been ordered to introduce licenses, as well as export and import quotas for certain goods, services, countries, or groups of countries with the approval of the State Foreign Trade Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers, in such cases where the balance of payments or other economic and political conditions require this. Lists of products, work, and services have been decided that will be exported and imported on the basis of licenses in 1989 and 1990.

A further measure to guarantee the interests of the entire state in the field of foreign trade, is the working out of a new customs duty of the USSR. This duty is to serve the pricing of import goods, the regulation of supply and demand on the domestic market, and as a basis for international negotiations.

All these measures provide the state with the opportunity to effectively influence the development of foreign trade relations in the interests of the entire Soviet society, to react actively to changes in international political and economic life, and to thus implement the foreign trade monopoly of the state, but not that of an individual authority.

Question: At present, intensive work is being done in our countries to prepare the state plans of economic and social development for the next 5-year plan period, and the concepts of scientific-technological development through the year 2000 are being detailed on the basis of assessments and tasks set by the party congresses. What can you say about the strategy of accelerating scientific-technological progress in the USSR and the prospects for its implementation?

Answer: The strategy of long-term development, which was decided by the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, envisages a basic restructuring of the national economy and the establishment of a new mechanism of reproduction that links scientific-technological, social, and economic growth factors. The concept of scientific-technological progress has its place within the framework of this overall strategy.

Experts and scientists have put up two varieties for discussion—a variety that is intensive in investments and in a certain way traditional, and a socially oriented variety, which bases itself on less capital-intensive growth factors. We have chosen the second variety. In our view, it will make it possible to overcome the elements of the braking mechanism and, above all, to achieve a real acceleration of the socioeconomic development on the basis of scientific-technological progress.

At first, it is necessary to overcome the differences in the technical standards of production processes that belong together from the viewpoint of technology. In this, one must not forget that this is taking place while the situation of resources is exacerbating. It is urgently necessary to renew the raw material base and the technological basis on principle, and to establish a new structure-forming core of the national economy in the form of progressive science-intensive branches. However, this is a task for the future. At present, we must enforce an intensively economical use of material in all branches of the national economy concerning the consumption of traditional resources. For this purpose, about 300 technologies have been worked out that are now being introduced. Of course, we must not stop at this. We must advance energetically, and look for and create new technologies.

Particularly important is the social adjustment of our scientific-technological policy, the priority development of science-intensive branches, and the qualitative restructuring of our scientific-technological potential.

In order to make faster progress in these directions, and to concentrate the scientific-technological potential as well as the material and financial resources on this, the USSR Council of Ministers has approved 14 state scientific-technological projects, which must be implemented by the year 2000. These include the computerization of all areas of the national economy, comprehensive automation, the development of new material, and the technical revolution in the production of foodstuffs on the basis of comprehensive application of biotechnology. Furthermore, it includes the application of high-temperature superconductors, a low-waste energy sector and transportation sectors, the struggle against the most frequent diseases, and other topical problems. In these programs the basic directions of development, as well as social and ecological guidelines, are linked with each other.

It must be noted, that today the selection of the individual projects within the framework of these programs is taking place under competitive conditions with the widespread application of independent expert opinions. The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology has been granted considerable means to finance this work.

Our state programs are open to international cooperation. On its basis, we have presented the proposal to continue the comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress of CEMA for the period under discussion, since the corresponding priorities do not have a closely limited national character, but have objective reasons from the viewpoint of the international development in science and technology.

Question: The new forms of integration of the scientific-technological potential are a promising and effective instrument for implementing the concept of economic and scientific-technological cooperation of the CEMA member states, including our countries. How do you assess the current state of affairs in this field and implementation of the concluded agreements?

Answer: In our country the process of supporting the new forms of cooperation with laws has started. Conditions to deepen them that are as favorable as possible are being gradually established. I only want to recall here the law on state enterprises, the law on cooperatives, and a number of decisions of the party and government to perfect foreign trade work.

However, the precondition for cooperation involves at least two partners, and the efficiency of the new forms of cooperation depend on coordinated measures of the partners, which are to guarantee the functioning of these forms. For this purpose there are agreements between the USSR and the GDR that must be consistently implemented by establishing specific partner enterprises and collectives.

One must say that a campaign that is planned in advance and from above, would certainly fail in this respect. Today, when our enterprises have started working on the basis of complete economic cost accounting and self-financing, economic usefulness must be the sole criterion in every specific case to determine whether one form of cooperation or another is acceptable. In view of these conditions, the 160 pairs of direct relations that already exist between combines and enterprises of our countries may also be subject to certain changes.

Concerning the establishment of joint enterprises and collectives, their number is not yet large. I think that haste would be wrong in this respect. An atmosphere of businesslike partnership, in which the readiness for such a form of cooperation can develop, must be established. Thus, the establishment of, for instance, a joint enterprise must be preceded by thorough analytical work.

Concerning direct relations in science and production, it is necessary to implement the contracts between the partners in a purposeful way, and to guarantee production cooperation and its basic rationalization and intensification. It is useful to concentrate on the creation of principally new scientific-technological solutions. For such production one will need, from the very start, integration in the field of financial and scientific-technological resources, pricing, and sales. We should concentrate on the creation of a lead in research and development that facilitates the production of modern technology—jointly or in cooperation—and that surpasses the best internationally comparable products, or is something completely new in the world.

Question: In line with the peace initiatives of the socialist countries, the USSR is taking steps to reduce its Armed Forces, as well as the production of armaments and military technology. The defense industry facilities that are freed because of that are converted to the production of civilian products. What are the possibilities and prospects—in your view—resulting from this for closer cooperation between our countries?

Answer: The Soviet Union has indeed initiated measures to reduce its military-industrial potential. As is known, the USSR Armed Forces will be reduced by 500,000 men in 1989-90, the defense budget will be reduced by 14.2 percent, and the production of armaments and military technology by 19.5 percent.

Proceeding from our foreign policy, which is aimed at peace, from the explicitly defensive character of the Soviet military doctrine, and from the results of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and short-range missiles with the United States, a part of the defense industry enterprises will be converted to the production of civilian products.

Already now, 345 enterprises that previously worked for defense, as well as about 200 research institutes, have been integrated in civilian production. In the course of this year, 40 percent of the production of the defense industry enterprises are destined for civilian purposes. By 1991 this proportion will rise to 50 percent and, by 1995 ,to 60 percent.

This will provide additional possibilities to our country to fulfill the tasks for tangible improvement of the population's standard of living more comprehensively and within shorter periods.

Accordingly, the enterprises of the defense industry will be oriented mainly toward the production of machinery, equipment, and instruments for agricultural production and the processing of agricultural products, for the foodstuffs industry and the light industry, for the supply of medical technology to the health sector, and for the production of a wide range of consumer goods.

Of course, organizing the production of these goods is based on using the results and experiences available in the world and establishing business contacts with foreign firms and enterprises, including from socialist countries, and starting cooperation.

The GDR, too, is not an exception in this case. The USSR is conducting traditional cooperation with it in the production and exchange of both consumer goods, as well as production of machine building for the processing branches, which are effective in the social area.

Converting a considerable number of USSR defense industry enterprises to civilian production opens up additional possibilities and good prospects for deepening and expanding this cooperation with GDR combines, enterprises, and institutions.

During the GDR fair in Moscow in September and October 1988, a number of meetings and negotiations between leading comrades of the USSR defense industry and the GDR industrial ministries and combines took place, and there proposals on the potential directions and forms of cooperation in starting civilian production in the respective Soviet enterprises were discussed and agreed upon.

At present, drafts for agreements and contracts on the practical implementation of previously concluded agreements on deepening economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the USSR and the GDR from 1991-95 are being worked out and coordinated in both countries at three levels—central planning organs, ministries, associations and enterprises. This also includes organizing close cooperation between USSR defense industry enterprises with GDR combines and enterprises. At present, an entire complex of questions that concern the development, production, and exchange of products of machine building for the processing industry, as well as consumer goods, is being agreed upon.

I am convinced that including defense industry enterprises in the USSR-GDR cooperation will contribute to better meeting the national economic and social needs of the two countries.

## Erich Honecker Arrives on Visit to Greifswald

*LD1106083889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0651 GMT 11 Jun 89*

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived this morning in Greifswald (Rostock Area). In front of the historic town hall, he was welcomed by Mayor Udo Wellner. Present were Ernst Timm, first secretary of the SED area organization in Rostock; Eberhard Kuehl, chairman of the area council; Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for church affairs; and further public figures. The town's inhabitants gave Erich Honecker an extremely warm reception on the market place.

The GDR State Council chairman will take part in the festive service in St Nikolay Cathedral, by means of which this sacred building, which is over 700 years old, will again be used for its religious purpose as the Episcopal church of the Greifswald regional church, following comprehensive reconstruction and restoration.

### Honecker Receives Tunisian Foreign Minister

*LD1606211789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1618 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and Tunisia believe that complicated international issues can only be solved through the political determination of all those involved and a just balance of interests. This was emphasized in Berlin today by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Tunisian Foreign Minister Abdelhamid Escheikh. The two politicians stressed that the GDR and Tunisia support all efforts that lead to peaceful cooperation of the peoples and guarantee their right to self-determination.

Erich Honecker said that all knowledge and experience shows that today security can only be ensured with political means. He pointed out that the proposals of the GDR and its allies for negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons and drastic conventional disarmament, and the initiatives on reduction of armed forces and defense budgets, are clear prior concessions and lend an important impetus to the further disarmament process. Doctrines of deterrence do not correspond to the spirit of the age. The GDR considers the proposals made by U.S. President George Bush on the reduction of conventional forces as a step in the direction of the views of the allied socialist states, and worthy of careful examination. With the reduction of conventional forces, negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons are all the more necessary.

This year is the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. For the GDR this is a reminder to do its utmost to see that only peace and never war from German soil. The historical legacy is also the reason for antifascism as a state doctrine of the GDR. Neo-nazism and xenophobia are tendencies that threaten peace and require the vigilance of the international community.

The Tunisian foreign minister explained his country's contribution to regional and global safeguarding of peace, to settling conflicts, and to establishing good-neighbor relations in the Maghreb. Erich Honecker said that the GDR welcomes the results of the recent extraordinary Arab summit conference in Casablanca. He agreed with his guests that the founding of the Union of the Arab Maghreb promotes peace, stability, and harmony beyond the confines of North Africa. The GDR supports all initiatives for turning the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace.

### Officials Receive Escheikh

*LD1606082489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1423 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The further development of bilateral relations with the GDR, as well as international questions, were at the center of talks which Tunisian Foreign Minister Abdelhamid Escheikh conducted with leading officials of the host country in Berlin today. [passage omitted]

The Tunisian guest was then received by his counterpart Oskar Fischer. Both officials noted with satisfaction that relations between the GDR and Tunisia are filled with a friendly spirit and are marked by stability and continuity. There are concurring and converging positions on the fundamental questions of the present. There is a good basis for the constant deepening of cooperation. The relations make clear, Oskar Fischer stressed, that states with different social orientations can cooperate productively for peace and development.

Oskar Fischer explained that the GDR and its allies are prepared for dialogue and the peaceful balancing of interests. The Warsaw Pact states have provided—with unilateral disarmament measures that constitute important prior concessions—an example that demands to be imitated. The quicker NATO makes the ideas on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe concretely negotiable, as set out by President George Bush in Brussels, the sooner results will be possible in the relevant negotiations in Vienna, while preserving the principle of equality and equal security.

At midday, GDR Foreign Trade Minister Dr. Gerdard Beil spoke with Abdelhamid Escheiklh. The partners in the talks praised the level of economic cooperation achieved and discussed possibilities for expanding trade and economic relations.

In the evening, Oskar Fischer is hosting a dinner in honor of the Tunisian guest, during which both will speak.

### Escheiklh Ends Talks

*LD1606161889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1440 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The foreign ministers of the GDR and Tunisia, Oskar Fischer and Abdelhamid Escheikh, ended their official talks in Berlin today.

The two ministers agreed to continue political dialogue without a break at various levels. It promoted the further development of an atmosphere of friendship, trust, and mutual respect.

Oskar Fischer and Abdelhamid Escheikh pointed to varied possibilities for mutually advantageous cooperation in view of the two countries' economic potential. They affirmed the intention to continue intensive contacts between youth and sporting organizations, as well as the exchange of sports people, youth travel groups, students, and trainees.

Following the official talks, GDR Justice Minister Hans-Joachim Heusinger and Abdelhamid Escheikh signed a treaty on legal aid in civil and criminal cases.

### Krolikowski Receives Mongolian Officials

*AU1706190889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jun 89 p 10*

[ADN report: "Mongolian Delegation Received in the SED Central Committee; Talk Between Werner Krolikowski and R. Zagaanchuu"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received a delegation from the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], which is headed by R. Tsagaanhuu, member of the Central Committee and director of the Agricultural Policy Department, for a friendly talk on Tuesday [13 June]. The delegation is visiting the GDR to exchange experiences on agricultural policy issues.

Werner Krolikowski paid tribute to the high level of relations between the two parties and states which was achieved as a result of the meetings between the general secretaries of the fraternal parties, Erich Honecker and Jambyn Batmonh, in the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] in 1986 and in the GDR in 1988. The GDR politician briefed the guests on the results and experiences of the SED's agricultural policy in implementing the decisions of the seventh Central Committee session, and on the tasks of preparing the 12th SED Congress.

R. Tsagaanhuu discussed the results achieved in implementing the decisions of the fifth plenary session of the MPRP Central Committee in December 1988 on changes in the economic mechanism in the MPR, and reported on new tasks for developing agriculture and for improving the living conditions of the country's working people. The MPRP delegation will acquaint itself with the social and economic development in the agricultural producer cooperative for plant and animal production and in meat combines, visit scientific institutions, become familiar with experiences of political leadership activities in implementing the SED's agricultural policy, and visit the "Agra 89" exhibition.

Helmut Semmelmann, member of the Central Committee and director of the Agriculture Department of the SED Central Committee, and Raschaabadzaryn Jamts [name as published], MPR ambassador to the GDR, participated in the talk.

### Jarowinsky Receives Cuban Delegation 12 Jun

*AU1806174389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Friendly Talk With Cuban Comrades"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [12 June], a friendly meeting with a delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] took place in the house of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. Werner Jarowinsky, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Mario Torres, head of the Trade, Services, and Tourism Department of the PCC Central Committee, for a friendly talk. During a visit to conduct studies, the Cuban delegation acquainted itself in various GDR bezirks with the work of institutions of trade, services, consumer goods production, and tourism, as well as with the work of the party organizations and local state organs in this field.

Werner Jarowinsky paid tribute to the fraternal relations between the SED and the PCC, which have stood the test for decades. [passage omitted]

### SED's Sieber Meets With PDRY Party Leader

*LD1506191889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1259 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Aden (ADN)—Close cooperation is an important requirement for the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) and the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], in order to be able to make a joint contribution to further improvement of the world climate and the securing of peace. This was stressed by 'Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the YSP Central Committee, and Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the Central Committee's International Relations Department, at a meeting in Aden today.

Guenter Sieber reported on how the GDR, through its policy directed toward dialogue and understanding, is actively involved in implementing the socialist countries' peace program. 'Ali Salim al-Bid spoke of the YSP's efforts to further improve its activites and its role in society. The YSP has also increased its numbers.

Earlier, Foreign Minister 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali discussed with the SED delegation practical measures from both countries for helping to guarantee stability in the respective regions. In the opinion of both sides, everything possible must be done to make the change from confrontation to detente irreversible.

At the end of the SED-YSP talks, a cooperation agreement until 1993 was signed between the two countries.

### British Frigate 'Achilles' Concludes Visit

*AU1806171689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "British Frigate Concludes Visit to GDR"]

[Excerpts] Rostock (ADN)—On Monday [12 June], the British frigate "HMS Achilles" of the Royal Navy concluded its 4-day visit to the GDR. At the Rostock passenger quay, the crew was seen off by local Navy commander Captain Joachim Fechner. [passage omitted]

In a talk with journalists, the commander of the "Achilles" stated that this first visit by a ship of the Royal Navy has fulfilled the task of expanding relations between Great Britain and the GDR. [passage omitted]

### Libyan Official Discusses Training Cooperation

*AU1706184089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Libya Uses GDR Experience in Training"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Gerhard Tautenhahn, minister of construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery and vehicles, received Ma'tuq Muhammad Ma'tuq, secretary of the General People's Committee for Vocational Training of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, for a friendly talk in Berlin on Tuesday [13 June]. Both ministers paid tribute to the good results of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries. They discussed new opportunities to develop cooperation in vocational training, for example by supplying training equipment and sending trainers to the Arab country, and by training Libyan cadres in the GDR.

### Oskar Fischer Receives Indian Counterpart

*LD1606212289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1608 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The positive changes taking place in the international arena must be further strengthened through the committed actions of all forces of reason and realism. This was stressed by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Kanwar Natwar Singh, Indian minister of state for external affairs, in Berlin today. The situation remains complicated. War must and can be banned from the life of the peoples forever as a means of policy.

The GDR official stressed that his country's foreign policy corresponds with the humanist nature of the socialist German state and its historical responsibility to do everything possible so that war never again starts from German soil. The peace programs of the Warsaw Pact states, in the implementation of which the GDR is actively collaborating, is striving for comprehensive disarmament of all weapons.

The GDR, Oskar Fischer said, welcomes the efforts of the nonaligned movement and the significant contribution of the six-state initiative for peace and disarmament. It agreed with the demand of these six states that the pace of disarmament must be stepped up. He noted that adherence to the doctrine of deterrence and modernization of nuclear short-range weapons in Europe carries with it the danger of a continuation of the arms race.

The Indian guest emphasized that his country supports everything that helps to transform Europe at last into a peaceful continent. He said progress in the disarmament process is an important condition for coming closer to the solution of such global problems as underdevelopment.

The officials stressed that the GDR and India will cooperate closely in the struggle for a nuclear-weapons and violence-free world. Great importance is attached to the preparations for the Eighth Nonaligned Summit in September. India will also continue to contribute constructively to the political settlement of regional conflicts.

Oskar Fischer and Natwar Singh praised the multifaceted bilateral relations, which are developing to mutual advantage. They spoke in favor of expanding cooperation further in accordance with requirements and possibilities.

### Central Committee Greets Indian Party Leader

*AU1706164889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Congratulations on 80th Birthday of E.M.S. Namboodiripad"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has conveyed best wishes and cordial militant greetings to E.M.S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India-Marxist, in Delhi on his 80th birthday. The greetings address, signed by SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker, stresses his tireless work for consolidating India's political independence and territorial integrity and for solving the national and social problems of the country. As general secretary, he has earned great merits for the party's important contribution to the struggle for a lasting peace in Asia and in the world.

### Commentary on FRG 'Reunification Campaign'

*LD1606195389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1741 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In its "Aktuelle Kamera" news program this evening, GDR television broadcast the following commentary by Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler:

Who would have thought it! Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl has just signed the joint FRG-Soviet Union statement which says that it is the right of all peoples and states to determine their destiny freely and to shape their relations with one another in a sovereign fashion on the basis of international law, and that it is one of the elements of a Europe of peace and cooperation to freely select one's own political and social system, and to unreservedly respect the principles and norms of international law, especially the peoples' right to self-determination. The signature on this document, which is based on the Helsinki Final Act, was not even dry before it was transformed by politicians and journalists in the FRG into an almost hysterical reunification campaign.

Here, borders were called into question; there, socialism in the GDR should be abolished. In short, all the old slogans of the 1950's and 1960's were dug out, for example, in the case of a spokesman of the governing Christian Democratic Union Party in the Bundestag this morning.

Much can be said on the topic of the right to self-determination and the Germans. Did not the FRG come into being as a result of the division of Germany, as a result of the disregard for the right to self-determination in the interests of the imperialist Western powers and their capitalist friends in the west of Germany? Did not the Germans this side of the Harz mountains, and the Elbe and Werra rivers then make use of their right to self-determination and found their socialist state, free from the capitalist past?

It is not by chance that voices are now being raised in the West warning certain hotheads in the FRG against giving free rein to their dreams of a greater Germany. Others quite rightly point out that GDR citizens have no desire for unemployment, exhorbitant rents, the restitution of the educational privilege of the rich, and, not at all, for any sort of Schoenhuber [chairman of the Republikaner Party in the FRG] and his gang.

They should not get things so mixed up in Bonn, therefore. The existence of the two German states is a stable element in the peace order in Europe. Their right to self-determination is the basis for peaceful interstate relations. Any interference by one in the affairs of the other flouts this right to self-determination and threatens peaceful development. There are enough West European and U.S. officials who warn against encroaching on this European order.

We assume that the Bonn government stands by what was laid down in 1987 in Erich Honecker's joint communique with Helmut Kohl during his state visit to the Federal Republic, which had already been agreed on by the two politicians in 1985: that the inviolability of the borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe within their present borders are a basic condition for peace. The communique also says: Taking into account the facts and notwithstanding the differences in views on fundamental questions, including the national question, it is the intention of both sides, in the spirit of the basic treaty, to develop normal, goodneighborly relations with one another on the basis of equality.

Relations between the two German states are built on these international principles which were agreed upon between the GDR and the FRG and despite the occasional irritations, they have proved their worth.

The realities may or may not please one, but desiring to alter them means to reopen wounds and create new dangers.

There is a common duty for all Germans, whether they live on the Oder, the Elbe, or the Rhine: No war must start from our territories. We both bear special responsibility for peace in Europe.

### Acquittal of Thaelmann's Murderer Condemned

*AU1806202589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jun 89 p 2*

["W.M." editorial: "Encouragement for Neo-Nazis"]

[Text] The confirmation of the acquittal of SS Staff Leader Otto by the FRG Federal Court is a political and a judicial scandal. Because this court in Karlsruhe is the ultimate authority, this decision means that the Nazis' treacherous murder of Ernst Thaelmann remains unpunished.

As regards the judicial side of the case, the highest FRG court has adopted the attitude of the Duesseldorf Land Court of not believing the witnesses, but rather the defendant. It is not "when in doubt in favor of the defendant" but "without any doubt in favor of the defendant," a principle which reduces the administration of justice to absurdity. In this case it was the last one in an entire series of monstrosities. It started with the fact that for decades the FRG judiciary had refused to start proceedings against the murderers of Ernst Thaelmann. They followed the motto: Postpone the matter until there are no longer any witnesses or perpetrators. As long as 42 years after the murder, in Krefeld, the teacher Otto, the last remaining murderer, was sentenced to 4 years in prison for aiding and abetting a murder. However, the Federal Court immediately reversed the judgment because of a "legal mistake," and ordered the 17th division for criminal matters in Duesseldorf to conduct a new trial, which led to an acquittal for lack of evidence. The supreme judges of the FRG agreed with this.

Of course, such a perversion of justice in such a case can only be considered as a political decision. The murder of Ernst Thaelmann, chairman of the Communist Party of Germany and deputy of the German Reichstag, is simply not to be condemned. This is the same political determination that manifests itself in maintaining the ban against the Communist Party of Germany, which was passed 33 years ago; the same political determination that is the basis of banning Communists and other progressive citizens from exercising their professions; the same political determination that keeps the avalanche of lawsuits against antimissile activists in motion. Did the judges in Karlsruhe, through their judgment, perhaps want to stress just now that the FRG was established as a bulwark of anticommunism 40 years ago?

They are encouraging the neo-Nazis with their judgment! The neo-Nazis will consider the acquittal of Thaelmann's murderer as a confirmation of the fact that they can rely on like-minded people, not only in the police, but also in the FRG judiciary.

## Plans Drafted To Improve Elbe Water Quality

*AU0606111689 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 6 Jun 89 p 4*

[D. Goos report: "GDR Wants To Tackle Improvement of Elbe Water Quality Together With FRG"]

[Text] East Berlin—The GDR is ready for far-reaching agreements with the FRG to clearly reduce the dangerous amount of pollutants in the Elbe river. This was stated by GDR Environmental Minister Hans Reichelt in a talks with his Schleswig-Holstein counterpart Berndt Heydemann. At Reichelt's invitation, Heydemann has been in the GDR for a 4-day visit since Sunday [5 June]. After the first discussions, an intra-German program for improving the water quality of the Elbe, in which the governments in Bonn and East Berlin, as well as the laender of Lower Saxony, Hamburg, and Schleswig-Holstein, intend to participate. As Heydemann announced in East Berlin yesterday, it is mainly a question of limiting the influx of the toxic heavy metals quicksilver and cadmium, as well as of chlorofluorocarbons, into the river. This is to be achieved primarily by including purification plants in large-scale complexes of the chemical industry in the southern GDR. Specific discussions are being held on projects in the Leuna and Buna Chemical Works, the Wolfens Paints and Photochemical Works, the Bitterfeld Chemical Combines, and the Nuenchritz enterprise near Risa. These enterprises channel their waste water either directly into the Elbe river or into its subsidiary rivers, Saale and Mulde.

About DM15 million are envisaged as the first installment of investments by the FRG within the framework of a program that is to cover several years. Lower Saxony will pay about DM6 million and Schleswig-Holstein about DM3 million. Hamburg's share is still unclear; the rest would have to be paid by the Federal Government. Heydemann said that every Elbe littoral state has to pay its share of the improvement program. Already great success can be achieved with relatively small means.

The GDR will incur annual operating and follow-up costs of about DM3 to 4 million. During his coming visit to Bonn, from 5 to 7 July, Environmental Minister Reichelt and his FRG counterpart Klaus Toepfer will set down details of the joint improvement of Elbe water quality. Heydemann explained in this connection that the Federal Government has taken over the coordination of the program. If it is possible to eliminate heavy metals and other poisonous substances, the Elbe river will be able to regenerate itself. Reichelt and Heydemann also intensively discussed the contamination of the Baltic Sea. The Kiel environmental minister presented a comprehensive study on the separation of economic utilization and nature protection in the area of the Schleswig-Holstein Baltic Sea coast to his East Berlin counterpart.

On the occasion of the "Day of the Environment," which was celebrated internationally yesterday, Reichelt announced a comprehensive program for the reduction of chlorofluorocarbons, which damage the ozone layer. By 1991 the GDR wants to completely ban these substances from the production of sprays, said a statement disseminated by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

In Leipzig at least 10 people were arrested at a demonstration on the "Day of the Environment." It was learned from church circles that the demonstration was on the way to the Pleisse river to draw attention to the contamination of the river and the increasing air pollution.

## Ecological Policy Reviewed

*AU0606201189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jun 89 pp 1, 3*

[ADN report: "Active Contribution of the GDR to the Protection of the Ozone Layer"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On this year's International Environment Day, Hans Reichelt, GDR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and minister of environmental protection and water management, issued the following statement:

The International Environment Day this year is marked by intensified activities for the protection of the climate and the ozone layer.

Preserving the natural environment is an inseparable part of our social strategy and our economic and social policy that is oriented toward the people's benefit. The GDR Government shares the concern of scientists, social organizations, and many countries of the globe about the preservation and protection of the atmosphere. In accordance with the document of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee of 16 July 1988 on "The Consequences of the Arms Race for the Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security," the GDR has made considerable efforts both nationally and internationally to protect the climate and the ozone layer and to help prevent global heating up. That is shown by the resolution of the GDR State Council of 12 December 1988 on joining the Vienna Convention on the ozone layer, and the Montreal Protocol on substances harmful to the ozone layer.

Such substances include, in particular, chlorofluorocarbons (CFC). In order to considerably reduce their consumption—the GDR accounts for about 1 percent of international consumption—the GDR Government has decided to take comprehensive measures. In the production of sprays, for instance, CFC as a foaming agent will be replaced by 1991. The registration and central processing of refrigerating agents of worn-out industrial refrigeration facilities and household refrigerators and freezers will be expanded. In microelectronics, the projects are aimed at ensuring the recovery, purification, and reuse of solvents. An analogous procedure will be applied regarding the use of CFC for dry cleaning of textiles and other materials.

In addition to these measures, the GDR—like other countries—is also working on a CFC substitute, for use in the production of insulating materials. In this connection, the GDR considers scientific-technological cooperation, the exchange of new technologies, and production procedures as indispensable.

It is quite clear now that for the protection of the climate, the emission of additional substances that have an influence on the rise of the global temperature through the greenhouse effect must be reduced. They include, in particular, carbon dioxide, methane, and all long-lived compounds of chlorine and bromine.

To reduce the emission of such air pollutants, many diverse measures are being carried out in the GDR with growing success. The most important ones include the increasingly rational use of all energy resources, and the higher refinement of domestic crude lignite which will remain our decisive primary energy resource in the foreseeable future.

The seventh Central Committee meeting of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] stressed again that the reduction of certain types of energy consumption continues to be of vital importance for our national economy.

All relevant measures and initiatives are connected more and more effectively with environmental protection. They include continuously increasing the effectiveness of electrical energy production in brown coal power plants through rationalization, reconstruction, and modernization. The increasing use of secondary energy, the use of new energy resources such as geoheat and biogas, and the expansion of the centralized heating supply system deserve considerable attention. Everybody can work for a more rational use of energy at his workplace or in his household; everybody can counteract any waste of energy and can thus contribute to the protection of the climate and the environment.

The GDR is doing much in climate and ozone research, and spends substantial amounts of money on it. It participates in projects of the World Meteorological Organization and in investigations in the Antarctica. Measurements of climatic sensitivity and research of the development of the climate in central Europe and the GDR should also be mentioned.

By order of the World Meteorological Organization, the Potsdam meteorological chief observatory has carried out the tasks of a Regional Ozone Center for Europe since the seventies. As early as in the fifties, this observatory began to build a system for measuring surface ozone concentrations, so that comprehensive measuring results exist today. All control and research tasks regarding surface ozone, the vertical distribution of ozone, and the overall ozone content will be intensified and continued in the GDR.

The GDR believes that to protect the ozone layer and to prevent possible climatic changes, it is indispensable to make even larger efforts to create a system of international security, to halt the arms race, above all to reduce nuclear weapons, to work for detente, and to work for the peaceful cooperation of states—irrespective of their social system. Our country will contribute its share in this respect.

## Leaders' Public Appearances for 8-13 Jun

*AU1806181089*

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 8-14 June reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following members and candidate members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] visited the "Agra 89" exhibition in Markkleeberg on 9 June: Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinksy, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Horst Sindermann, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, and Margarethe Mueller. (10-11 Jun, p 1)

The following members and candidate members of the Politburo attended the dinner hosted by Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer for USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in Berlin on 9 June: Hermann Axen, Kurt Hager, Erich Mueckenberger, Guenter Schabowski, and Gerhard Schuerer. (10-11 Jun, p 2)

The following members and candidate members of the Politburo met with meritorious teachers in Berlin on 12 June: Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, Kurt Hager, Harry Tisch, and Inge Lange. (13 Jun, p 1)

The following members and candidate members of the Politburo attended the opening of the Ninth Pedagogical Congress in Berlin on 13 June: Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, Hermann Axen, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Werner Eberlein, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Egon Krenz, Siegfried Lorenz, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Schabowski, Horst Sindermann, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Mueller. (14 Jun, p 1)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo, attended a dinner with meritorious peasants in Markkleeberg on 9 June. (10-11 Jun, p 3)

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, met with Bishop Gienke in Greifswald on 11 June. (12 Jun, p 3)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the Politburo, attended a teachers' meeting in Halle on 11 June. (12 Jun, p 2)

Werner Jarowinsky, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, received a study delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba in Berlin on 12 June. (13 Jun, p 4)

Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received a delegation of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces in Berlin on 8 June. (9 Jun, p 9)

Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with journalists at the "Agra 89" exhibition in Markkleeberg on 8 June. (9 Jun, p 2) He received a delegation from the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in Berlin on 13 June. (14 June, p 10)

Siegfried Lorenz, member of the Politburo, attended a teachers' meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 11 June. (12 Jun, p 2)

Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in Berlin on 8 June. (9 Jun, p 9)

Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, attended the opening of the new "Clara Zetkin" teacher training center in Berlin on 9 June. (10-11 Jun, p 6) He attended a teachers' meeting in Berlin on 11 June. (12 June, p 2) He visited a horticulture state farm in Berlin on 12 June. (13 Jun, p 8)

Inge Lange, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception in the Philippine Embassy on 12 June. (13 Jun, p 4)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the Politburo, attended a teachers' meeting in Erfurt on 11 June. (12 Jun, p 2)

Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visited the center of Berlin on 9 June. (10-11 Jun, p 4)

## 14 Jun News Briefing Held on Imre Nagy Funeral

*AU1606160689 Budapest MTI in English*
*1428 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 14 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government published a statement in connection with the rehabilitation of Imre Nagy and his associates, which will also be sent to the secretary-general of the UN, as the Hungarian question was also included on the agenda of the world organization after 1956, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn announced at a press briefing of the government held in Hotel Intercontinental in Budapest on Tuesday. 'It is a resolute intention of the government to reveal the truth of the past. The rehabilitation of Imre Nagy and his associates, as well as all innocently executed persons, will be carried out in this spirit,' Mr Horn said.

He also said that Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, in the presence of ministers of education and foreign affairs, met Imre Nagy's daughter, Erzsebet Nagy, and her husband on Tuesday. He also said that not one socialist country objected to the June 16 funeral. The majority of the diplomatic corps in Budapest have already registered their intention to take part in the final farewell of Imre Nagy and his associates.

In reply to a question, Mr Horn announced: U.S. President George Bush will come to Hungary on July 11-13. At American request, his visit will be one day longer than scheduled. The Hungarian Government has welcomed this change.

A vast majority of the Budapest diplomatic corps have announced their intention to attend the June 16 funeral ceremony, including the representations of all socialist countries except Romania, Albania, China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn told the government's international press conference in Budapest on Wednesday.

In connection with June 16, Mr Horn drew attention to a few international lessons, mainly that one must not interfere with the internal problems of other countries or take resort to external means in pursuit of a 'settlement.' He stressed that Hungary's going the way of democratic socialist renewal was not directed against any country. Hungary not only strives to maintain good relations with its partners but also seeks to intensify links and propagate up-to-date forms of contact.

Speaking to journalists, Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar said that Hungarian political culture had for centuries been characterized by the unfortunate practice of seeking solution to political conflicts by criminal procedures which ended in a death sentence more than once. Since 1849 fourteen Hungarian prime ministers had been executed, committed suicide or fled from the country. Imre Nagy was the 14th in the line. This shocking figure also warns that everything possible must be done to prevent anybody from falling victim again to a show trial.

Mr Kulcsar also said that the supreme court would repeatedly hear the case of Imre Nagy and associates on July 6 following the legal protest of the chief public prosecutor, and after the acquittal parliament will deliver justice by a law to people convicted unlawfully for their part in the 1956 events. The law under preparation is expected to concern 15,000 trials, including 300 death sentences. The nearly 12,000 persons called to account through police procedure would also be rehabilitated, Mr Kulcsar said.

## Nemeth Interviewed by ABC Prior to Funeral

*LD1606101889 Budapest MTI in English*
*0724 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Washington, June 16 (MTI)—ABC aired an interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth on Thursday, according to local time. In the conversation recorded in Budapest, Mr Nemeth said that June 16 would be a day of mourning, reconciliation and hope in Hungary.

Answering questions whether the Soviet Union may prevent forcefully the further advancement of Hungarian reforms, the prime minister said, "Mikhail Gorbachev and his aids support us, and the Brezhnev doctrine is a matter of the past and not of the future."

Asked whether the HWSP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] would renounce power if it lost the elections due in November, the prime minister expressed the hope that his party would win a majority vote, or perhaps somewhat less, during the free elections as well. In principle, it is conceivable that the party would lose its position of power, but in his view that is not expected in the next 2 or 3 years.

In connection with the Chinese events, the Hungarian prime minister stated that they also serve with a lesson for Hungary that the political problems of a country cannot be solved by force. This is one reason why the Hungarian Government is now working out guarantees to prevent this.

## Reportage on Imre Nagy Funeral Ceremony

### Ceremony Begins

*LD1606100289 Budapest MTI in English*
*0819 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—At 4 a.m. on June 16, the coffins of Imre Nagy, Miklos Gimes, Geza Losonczy, Pal Maleter and Jozsef Szilagyi and a sixth coffin representing all other victims of the 1956 uprising, were placed on the catafalque in front of the art gallery in Heroes' Square, Budapest.

The events of this national day of mourning will be broadcast live throughout the day on Hungarian radio and television.

The police guard over the square was handed over the organizers of the Hungarian Democratic Forum at 7 a.m. Order will be maintained by about 3,000 volunteers.

From 9 a.m., relatives, the national board of the Patriotic People's Front and the public will lay wreaths on the biers in front of the art gallery covered in black drapery. In the meanwhile, a recording of actors reading out the list of names of all those who fell victim to the retaliations after 1956 will be played.

The guard of honour at the catafalque was made up, during the first hour, of members of the Committee for Historical Justice. Following in their stead were the relatives, who, in turn, are to be replaced by representatives of the Federation of Political Prisoners and other organizations.

The crowd in a packed Heroes' Square, estimated at more than 300,000, filed past the catafalque to place their flowers.

The president of Hungarian television and two programme directors were among those who laid wreaths.

The start of the funeral service was marked by the tolling of bells throughout the country. Traffic came to a halt in towns and villages, and car horns and factory sirens were sounded. At the request of the Committee for Historical Justice and the relatives, the mourners commemorated the martyrs with a one-minute silence. At the funeral service of Imre Nagy and his associates in Heroes' Square, Budapest, the national anthem was followed at 12:30 by an excerpt from a speech Imre Nagy made on October 30, 1956, in which the former prime minister made an appeal to the Hungarian people for reconciliation and national accord.

Then, Miklos Vasarhelyi, chairman of the Committee for Historical Justice, Imre Nagy's former press chief, delivered an address. Recalling Nagy's speech, he said, 'Then, the people of Hungary heeded his words and, on that day, people laid down their weapons and the process of reconciliation and democratic transformation began. It was then we embarked on building our future parallel to preserving the achievements of the revolution. The world watched Hungary with amazement. The Hungarian revolution was crushed by brutal external intervention, killing our hopes and aims, yet the memory of Imre Nagy as symbol of the revolution lived on in the people. He was a wise statesman. Supported by his colleagues and the other participants of the coalition, he led the country out of a bloody confrontation towards a political solution.'

Mr Vasarhelyi said the Hungarian people now expressed their gratitude to the known and unknown associates of Imre Nagy. 'Besides the family, several hundreds of thousands of people are mourning in the square, in addition to millions all around the world. His message is more relevant today than ever. Peaceful transition to a free and democratic society can only be realized through the combined effort of people of diverging views'. Mr Vasarhelyi reminded his audience of the fact that Imre Nagy and he were present at Laszlo Rajk's funeral, and they vowed that such an event would never again occur in Hungary. 'In the shared moments of mourning, society is ready for reconciliation, and this is what is in the interest of the country. Hungarians, however, do not forget, and they long for quick and determined deeds. They want a free country and a constitutional state. A society which they dreamt about at the time of the 1956 revolution, too.

'Let us revive the spiritual legacy of the martyrs of the 1956 revolution and put an end to a painful period to open a new chapter in Hungarian history', Miklos Vasarhelyi said.

After Miklos Vasarhelyi, Sandor Racz, one-time chairman of the former Workers' council in Budapest, delivered a speech. Here is part of what he had to say:

'We will preserve the memory of our martyrs and the spirit of the revolution, and will continue to fight for justice.

'At present, there are many obstacles in the way of the progress of the Hungarian people. One is the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary.'

Pointing to the coffins, he said, 'This is the result of their presence. We call on all honest people of the world to help the Soviet Union withdraw their troops from Hungary.

'Another obstacle is the Communist Party, which is not willing to release its grip on power which forced Hungary into its present predicament'.

Then, he proceeded to call on the divided forces of society and the Hungarian people to unite.

'The last wish of Imre Nagy and his associates was a free and democratic Hungary, and this is what should guide the entire Hungarian people.'

'The leaders of the Soviet Union at that time committed an historical error when they prevented the Hungarian people from going their own way,' Imre Mecs said. Mr Mecs was once sentenced to death for his role in the 1956 events, but the sentence was later converted to imprisonment. He called on the peoples of the Soviet Union to condemn the past intervention. He announced that the Czechoslovak opposition organization Charter-77 had expressed its sympathy with the organizers of the funeral.

On behalf of the people who were interned and deported, Tibor Zimanyi reminded his audience of Imre Nagy's first measure in 1953, when he closed the infamous camp in Recsk, likening it to the Nazi concentration camps.

Between 1950 and 1953, several thousand political prisoners were detained in Recsk. He demanded that those who were guilty of the unlawful acts should withdraw from public life, since this was a prerequisite for national reconciliation. 'We don't want revenge, but the names of the murderers.'

Bela Kiraly, commander of the National Guard at the time, and now living in the US, praised the progressive economic views of Imre Nagy, who placed emphasis on the role of agriculture as against that of heavy industry, and stressed the right to existence of private farms besides cooperatives. Bela Kiraly pointed out that Imre Nagy was a reformer who was unwilling dishonestly to give up his principles. He also referred to the guilty ones as murderers, but said that revenge should not be taken and no blood spilled.

According to Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth representative Viktor Orban, in 1956, the nation had a chance to catch up with economic advance and achieve economic welfare. He said: 'Democracy and communism are incompatible, and the communist dictatorship should be terminated. The future of Hungarian youth was ruined by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in 1956.' Mr Orban feels Hungary now has another opportunity to realize the goals of 1956 through peaceful means. This requires free elections. Hungary should implement changes which would make it impossible for the establishment to use violence in any event.

### Writer Meray Delivers Eulogy

*LD1606170489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1205 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Speech by Writer Tibor Meray at funeral for Imre Nagy in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Imre Nagy, Hungary's legitimate premier and the first and only premier since Ferenc Nagy was forced into exile to be raised to this post not by external order or internal dictatorshp, not by a prefabricated election, but by the will of the people, the martyr of Hungary's freedom and independence, we have come here to meet you once more and to say our farewells. [passage omitted]

If you and all the others whom we are burying today were without guilt, as we have always known and professed, and as today the immediate inheritors of the power of your executioners also admit that the accusations were fabricated, the witnesses false, the trials conceptional, then those who sent you to the gallows are nothing but ordinary murderers. Many of them are still alive, move among us, and enjoy in golden retirement the preserved privileges of their lost power. We would not be worthy of you if we proclaimed revenge or hate. Let their punishment be the contempt of the nation, which has become one for the first time since 1956; let their punishment be that they have lived to see, can see, and hear what is happening today; let their punishment be that their illusions have disappeared and they can guess the judgment which the as yet unwritten history books of future generations will mete out to them.

The nation knows, the world knows, and the present-day possessors of power must also know that everything that has happened in recent months—your removal from your unmarked graves, today's solemn funeral—are not the gifts of the regime; all of this was won by the people, by Hungarian youth which only a year ago, on the 30th anniversary of your execution, suffered from police violence. It was won by international public opinion, by the conservative President of the United States and the socialist president of Portugal, by the liberal lady chairman of the European Parliament, by the mayor of Paris, and the representatives of many countries, by 27 Nobel Prize winners, by the International and Hungarian League of Human Rights.

The leaders and members of that party which even today enjoys monolithic power in this country could only receive their membership, could only rise to their present positions, could only join the upper, middle, and even lower levels of the leadership by first calling the 1956 revolution a counterrevolution, by first, even if only metaphorically, trampling through this weed-covered plot number 301 [the unmarked grave in which Nagy and others were buried]. If there are any among them who have regretted this—and we would like to hope that there are some among them who have—then they must ask for your forgiveness and for the forgiveness of your fellow martyrs. [passage omitted]

Since 1956, not only the East's but also the West's world picture and outlook have changed. Those who, at the time, still held the opinion that Imre Nagy too was only a communist like the rest; those who until then could not have even imagined that a person could at one and the same time be a communist and a patriot, a communist and a reformer; those people by now have thought or are thinking in quite a different way about Dubcek or Gorbachev. Those who could still be made to believe—and here I am last but not least thinking not of communist parties such as the Italian, but also of the fairly broad Western masses—that in Budapest one-time fascists, Hitler's last henchmen, out of nostalgia or ingratitude, took up arms against their liberators, have discovered that after 1956, in central eastern Europe, if even for a few short days, the Hungarians were the first to attain democracy.

The prospects for this democracy now are new and full of hopes for longevity. But tender shoots can quickly wither. This festive day of mourning could tomorrow be followed by mournful weekdays if the societal, the economic, the social foundations of the emerging democracy are weak. Whether Imre Nagy and his fellow martyrs were communists, noncommunists, or anticommunists, they did not give their lives for a Hungary—and the survivors, too, did not take part in the revolution for a Hungary—where the several millions who are already poor would become even poorer and where the con men of the fast buck could parade like peacocks. And yet this danger does exist. Who knows if this is not the biggest danger?

But how should we create a democracy that is also socially just? One where the strong are curbed and the weak are protected by the laws of a welfare system? How should we take part, as a young democracy, in the merciless race of the world economy, if we start with the burden of a bankrupt mass on our back, and right at the outset leaden weights are dragging down our feet?

Before 1956, in the official statements of its presidents and foreign ministers, the West professed a policy of liberation, of the rolling back of communism, of sweeping it to the brink of the abyss. In 1956 that same West through its radio directed at the Hungarians—and not only the Hungarians—incited against the excessively moderate Imre Nagy. Then they permitted, when the time of extreme peril had come, that not communism but we should plunge into the abyss. It did not lift as much as its pinkie for us.

This is the same West which, in the past 2 decades, on the occasion of visits or invitations by kings, queens, state presidents, or prime ministers, warmly grasped the hands of one who was the chief person in Budapest responsible for the execution of Imre Nagy and every martyr of 1956. These are also the ones whose economic experts competed to stuff millions of dollars into the pockets of this ruffian leadership, forgetting even the elemental guarantees which they demand even from their own most ordinary citizens, forgetting to whom they give the loans, whether they will be repaid and what they will be used for. This same West can now ponder whether it is merely the Hungarian people which owes it a debt or whether the West, too, does not owe some kind of debt to this people?

We have no exaggerated illusions. We know that in the contests of the world powers, in the cold books of the world banks, there is no column headed gratitude. And these headstones on plot number 301 also do not carry much weight. But the Western leaders must also know that without their country's largesse, there will be no flourishing economy here, and that without a flourishing economy there will be no real and lasting democracy here. They will be helping themselves as well if they help us. [passage omitted]

## Names of Victims Recited

*LD1606155689 Budapest MTI in English*
*1456 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—The last phase of the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates began shortly after 3 o'clock, in Budapest's Kozma Street cemetery. At the graves, relatives and former associates took their last farewell of the victims of the retaliations in the wake of 1956. Before the burial, narrators read out one by one of the names of the victims, whose lives were put out like the flames of torches the participants in the funeral put out as a sign of commemoration.

## Funeral Ends in Budapest

*LD1606171689 Budapest MTI in English*
*1652 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—The funeral of Imre Nagy and his martyr associates, and the funeral service of all victims of the retributions following 1956, ended on Friday evening in Budapest, in plot 301 of the Kozma Street cemetery. An ecumenical mass was held in the framework of the funeral rites.

## Nemeth, Pozsgay, Others Comment

*LD1606172189 Budapest MTI in English*
*1654 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—On Friday in Budapest, several prominent personalities who placed wreaths at the funeral service for Imre Nagy and his martyr associates, gave brief interviews to MTI.

Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers:

'The historical event which caused so many trials and so much pain should be put in its place, and closed as soon as possible with common agreement, so that we be able to turn strength and attention to the future, together with the people and to their benefit. June 16 symbolizes this, and this is what it should mean for all of us who think in a responsible manner about the future of Hungary.'

Mr Nemeth also said there are many similarities between the intentions of Imre Nagy's government and the current efforts, for instance, pluralism, and the multi-party system. However, the differences in the internal and external circumstances of contemporary Hungary and the nation of 30-40 years ago should not be overlooked. An evolution process, a changed world and a new system of conditions should be seen behind the similarities and the identical efforts. Mr Nemeth said he believed that today's leadership, joining forces with the people and progressing on the road of political and economic reforms, lays the foundations of a finer and more joyful Hungary.

Minister of State Imre Pozsgay:

'This day is a joining of hands, its essence is national reconciliation and the beginning of work with a new tempo and impetus from June 17. This magnificent event is also suitable to reconfirm my personal commitment once again, and I am happy that today's government shares my views about 1956. The conditions are better and more promising today than in 1956 to realize a pluralist society which, at that time, led into a tragedy or, I might say, catastrophe. There is a chance for the country to switch from dictatorial socialism to a democratic social system on a peaceful road. If this has no precedents elsewhere, then we should be the first to do it.'

Bettino Craxi, general secretary of the Italian Socialist Party:

'I am very happy to have participated in the event, I think of the Hungarian people with great friendship, and I know that this day is extremely important for them.'

Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, primate-archbishop:

'I came here with the same feelings as the entire Hungarian people. A prayerful soul, sincere sympathy for the dead, and in the hope of reconciliation, forgiveness and the building of the future.'

Chief Rabbi Alfred Schoner:

'I arrived in a shaken, but also hopeful mood. Shaken, because almost a generation and half has passed since the fall of the revolution before these martyrs, these people who gave God's donation, their lives, for the independence and freedom of a nation could be placed on the well-deserved pedestal. And hopeful, because I feel a great opportunity for recommencement, and I am confident, with the faith of a believer, in genuine advance, in that we shall not leave out the great historical opportunity.'

## Commemoration Ceremonies Held

*LD1706163489 Budapest MTI in English 1642 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 17 (MTI)—

### Wreathlaying in Matyasfold

A six-member Hungarian delegation, composed of representatives of the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Federation of Young Democrats, visited the Soviet barracks of Matyasfold Friday [16 June] evening. The Soviet officers showed the place where Imre Nagy and his martyred associates were temporarily kept in custody after they had been taken away from the Yugoslav Embassy in 1956. The delegation laid a wreath and lit candles.

### Tribute at Plot 301

On Saturday, thousands of people paid tribute to the memory of Imre Nagy and his martyred associates in plot 301 of the Kozma Street ceremony.

### Commemoration in Eger

The Eger organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum held a commemoration in Eger in the memory of Imre Nagy, his matryed associates, and the victims of the Eger volley that claimed eight lives in December 1956. A requiem mass was celebrated in the basilica and candles were lit on the graves of the victims.

## NEPSZABADSAG Comments on Nagy Funeral

*LD1906124789 Budapest MTI in English 1149 GMT 19 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—"Shaking Hands for the Nation" is the title of an article carried by the Monday issue of the daily "NEPSZABADSAG" on the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates, as well as the funeral orations on Friday.

"The reverential commemoration in Heroes' Square was up to the importance of the event, expressing the feelings of our fellow compatriots and our ability to face our own history, including the white spots, as well as to review our past notions. The fact that the prime minister and the speaker of parliament were also present at the ceremony demonstrates that the present leaders of Hungary, on the course of reform, feel respect and appreciation towards the persons who wanted to embark on this road, in a sense, ahead of their era about three decades ago. We have taken vigorous and determined steps on the path to national reconciliation in Hungary. This reconciliation can be nothing but universal and comprehensive, as it can make no exceptions."

In connection with the orations delivered in Heroes' Square, "NEPSZABADSAG" points out:

"We should not conceal—as it is part of justice—that certain orations included some dissonant notes. Some speakers made certain generalizations on the basis of past events that are utterly unfair to socialism. For socialism is not equal to Stalinism.

"In sharp contrast to the sober tone of Bela Kiraly and others, some of the speakers outlined a totally unrealistic foreign political programme, although a funeral service is hardly an appropriate place for reading out manifestos. And if, in addition, the programme they outline is aimed at upsetting our relations with the Soviet Union marked by Gorbachev's policy, there is a cause for worry. For this Soviet Union is not anti-reformist like the one in 1956. This is not the same Soviet Union as the one under Stalin or Khrushchev, and not in the least like the one under Brezhnev. It is exactly Moscow, wholeheartedly supporting Hungarian reform endevours, which sets a kind of example to the reform communists and, in general, the advocates of progress in Hungary," stresses "NEPSZABADSAG".

## Oszi Rebuts CSSR's Fojtik's View of Hungary

*LD1706120289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Our foreign political editor Zoltan Tamasy telephoned Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi, to comment on Jan Fojtik's evaluation regarding Hungary.

[Begin Oszi recording] I heard these words with amazement. The categorical evaluation is incomprehensible and unacceptable. Amid such profound and important social changes now taking place in Hungary, it is inevitable that manifestations also occur that are difficult for foreign observers to understand. It would be a mistake to evaluate these changes on their own, out of context, and to apply this evaluation to the whole process.

In Hungary the development of democracy, the renewal of socialism, is taking place. Our friends can help with their confidence and their patience. An organic and inseparable part of this process is another evaluation of our history, and within this context, the rehabilitation of Imre Nagy and his martyr companions. [end recording]

### Further on Oszi Rebuttal

*LD1806160689 Belgrade TANJUG in English*
*1331 GMT 18 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 18 (TANJUG)—Budapest today assessed as unacceptable and incomprehensible a message from Czechoslovakia about possible counter-revolution and suppression of socialism in Hungary.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Jan Fojtik in a speech two days ago warned that a counter-revolution was possible in Hungary unless "forces loyal to socialism" were mobilized there.

Replying to the criticism, Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi today explained that, within the profound changes in Hungary now, it was possible to hear such stands as might be incomprehensible for a foreign observer at this time.

It would be wrong, said he, to evaluate any such statements with particular attention and equal them with overall trends.

Now in progress in Hungary there is a process of democratic development, reconstruciton of socialism, and our friends can help us by showing patience and confidence, the official said.

### Budapest Cites U.S. Reports of Grosz Resigning

*LD1706171389 Budapest Domestic Service in*
*Hungarian 1400 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Report by Gyorgy Bolgar]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the shadow of the extensive coverage of the Nagy reburial, information—rather than news—from Budapest has virtually disappeared. In less eventful times, it would have been an important story: namely, Karoly Grosz supposedly will resign soon. This was first reported by the UPI news agency, referring, naturally, to an unnamed source in Budapest; then, it was joined by the CNN and ABC television networks. Moreover, according to the latter, the resignation has already happened, but will only be made public at the Central Committee session at the end of the month.

### Grosz Speaks at Paks Nuclear Plant Ceremony

*LD1506223189 Budapest MTI in English*
*2135 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 15, (MTI)—'We should definitely seek the fundamental reason for the home political tensions in economy', said Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, on Thursday in Paks. 'I see the genuine, substantial reason for the low efficiency of economy in that we have exhausted the reserves of the hitherto operating system of social policy. Thus political and economic renewal is the command of the age, a challenge to which we can no longer avoid giving an answer', Mr Grosz said. The general secretary was speaking at the ceremony held on the occasion of the Paks nuclear power plant receiving the 'outstanding company' certificate.

Mr Grosz went on to note: 'We want a society which is socialist, thus humane, which strives for truth, which respects human dignity and relies on autonomous human communities in which the responsibility of the individual, and social control is enforced. We want an economy in mixed ownership, in which classical private property and viable common property alike have a place. What is neded is a market economy which recognizes creativity, the morals of business life. And all this relies on the recognition of performance, and it promises social-welfare security within the limits of capabilities, and fosters the cultural and moral values of European civilizaton', said, among others, Mr Grosz.

### Marxist Unity Organizer Deplores Reform Drive

*LD1806164389 Budapest Domestic Service*
*in Hungarian 1400 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Interview with (Roland Antonievics), one of the organizers of the MSZMP's Marxist Unity Platform, by Peter Borenits; from the "168 Hours" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] While the independent political organizations—that is, organizations independent of the ruling party—are mushrooming, a group has begun to function whose membership is indeterminate but whose aims are all too clear. Let us admit, it would be remarkable were it to be otherwise. The Marxist Unity Platform of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] held its founding meeting on 6 May—presumably to coincide with the party conference last May—at the Miners' Union headquarters. The Marxist Unity Platform held meetings at Angyalfold on 10 June, at the Csepel Sports Stadium on 12 June and at the council chambers of the Eighth District party committee on 14 June. Peter Borenits has interviewed one of the organizers, (Roland Antonievics), who, according to his card, is a journalist, film director, chairman of the national presidium of the Hungarian-Polish touring Student Association, and member of the Ferenc Muennich Society:

[(Antonievics)] I feel that the country is in a state of crisis. There are many people who are taking advantage of the situation.

[Borentis] Who, for example?

[(Antonievics)] Well, for example those who have spent several billion shillings in Austria in the past year. [passage omitted]

[Borenits] If people came here, to this so-called workers' meeting, as you call it, what would they hear?

[(Antonievics)] They would learn the truth.

[Borenits] How do you see the truth?

[(Antonievics)] We cannot throw out the baby with the bathwater. We must not reject socialism, reject Marxism, reject the Red Star. The Red Star was taken off Janoshegy [look-out tower at the top of a hill overlooking Budapest], from what I hear it is about to be removed from the television headquarters as well; the same thing is happening as in 1956. Some people cannot wait for the Red Stars to be removed, for the name plates to be removed from Lenin Boulevard, the plaques to the heroes of the workers' movement. [passage omitted] The chances are no longer equal in the political struggle.

[Borenits] What do you mean?

[(Antonievics)] The organization I lead, the Hungarian-Polish touring Student Association, whose name might appear a little strange—but do not forget that Communists in the days of illegality also toured the country—is a communist organization. We are moving into the areas abandoned by the Communist Youth League. Ours is the biggest organization in universities and colleges; we have more members than FIDESZ [Democratic Youth Federation]. Despite this, FIDESZ has a much more favorable position from which to wage the propaganda battle.

[Borenits] Why is that?

[(Antonievics)] FIDESZ receives significant financial help from the Soros Foundation—this money is given quite openly—and also, according to my information, from other Western sources. Our association has also asked the Soros Foundation for help, but we did not get any.

[Borenits] How many members do you have?

[(Antonievics)] Approximately 5,500.

[Borenits] You are also a member of the Ferenc Muennich Society.

[(Antonievics)] Yes, I make no secret of it, I am proud of it.

[Borenits] What is your view of the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates?

[(Antonievics)] The court's sentence on Imre Nagy was correct; I cannot change my view on this, even if the supreme prosecutor says today that the whole thing was a mistake. Why should he have been taken to the cemetery from Heroes' Square? All right, let us give his remains to the family, let the family bury him, this is their right. Perhaps this is how some people would like to draw attention away from the real problems. By now I would not be surprised if next they rehabilitated Miklos Horthy; they might even declare him a comrade. After that can come the legal and political rehabilitation of Szalasi [head of the fascist Arrowcross Party in World War II]. And then we can go underground once again. [passage omitted]

[Borenits] Is it the Kadar regime that you would like to restore, or perhaps even the Rakosi regime?

[(Antonievics)] There is no question of the restoration of the Rakosi regime. As for the restoration of the Kadar regime, I do not know whether we have to talk about a restoration at all.

[Borenits] You mean, it ought to be preserved?

[(Antonievics)] That is a better expression.

[Borenits] What is your opinion of the highest party leadership?

[(Antonievics)] I think that Comrade Grosz should be tougher, should be more decisive. For example, what he said in Gyor he should have said much earlier. I am disgusted by the fact that Comrade Pozsgay very often appears in the name of the party and then gives forth his views about liquidating it. I cannot agree with his denying the Marxist-Leninist character of the party. He wants to turn the MSZMP into a Western-style socialist party.

[Borenits] Do you prefer an Eastern-style party?

[(Antonievics)] There is only one type of communist party. Pozsgay does not want a communist party, he wants a socialist party.

[Borenits] There were few workers here in the audience.

[(Antonievics)] The reason for this is that the party membership is too modest. The opposition is not too modest to ask for money and equipment, mainly from the West. They get it, too. [passage omitted] I am very upset about the statement in which the Industry Ministry expresses outrage over the fact that the MSZMP's Marxist Unity Platform invitations were sent out in Industry Ministry envelopes. One of the government organs of the Hungarian People's Republic to issue such a statement! Who are the people in that ministry? Are they counterrevolutionaries? Where do we live? This is the most obvious manifestation of the counterrevolution. [passage omitted]

The reformers have their own paper, the REFORM, and many other papers. The problem is that at present even NEPSZABADSAG does not want to devote much space to us. Is this equality inside the party? The opposition fights harder. We are accused of trying to achieve a roll-back. It is they who are trying to roll things back; they want to restore capitalism, and we cannot permit this. They reject the Workers' Guard. Of course, they are afraid of the Workers' Guard. The Workers' Guard was created in Hungary to ensure that any counterrevolutionary manifestation should not lead to the same situation as in 1956. Of course, they are afraid of the Workers' Guard, of course they are afraid of those who stick to their principles.

### Weekly Interviews Kadar on 1956 Events

*LD1506130489 Budapest MTI in English*
*0930 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—This week's issue of the political weekly "MAGYARORSZAG" (HUNGARY) carries the latest part of its series of interviews with Janos Kadar. The questions here concern the 1956 events and his withdrawal from the Imre Nagy government.

Mr Kadar says, "As a member of the government, I supported Imre Nagy and his measures to the last minute, although I had some reservations.... On seeing the dispute about the rescue of the Budapest party committee building and the people inside left without help, with all the the tragic consequences, I felt I could not bear what was happening any longer.... It was then that Comrade Ferenc Muennich and I decided to withdraw from the government and look for ways and means of putting an end to the tragic events.

"As far as I remember, Comrade Muennich or one of his closest aides provided the car which took us to the Soviet Embassy, where we changed car and escort and drove to the Soviet military aiport in Tokol. We did not notify anyone, so even my wife knew nothing about my whereabouts.

"We also went to Ungvar, but did not form a government there. Neither Ferenc Muennich nor I would have supported the formation of an independent Hungarian government outside the country.

"I also remember the small plane we boarded. We were in Ungvar only long enough to eat some bread and dripping. Then we went on to Moscow. On November 2 and 3, we discussed the Hungarian conditions with the leaders of several socialist countries and fraternal parties. We all agreed that things could not be allowed to slip out of control.

"In the meantime, the Soviet side discussed the Hungarian situation with Comrade Tito. They shared the view that the events would sweep away the Hungarian People's Republic unless something was done. They also considered necessary the formation of a government capable of the defence of the democratic system.

"Belgrade commissioned the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest to contact Imre Nagy and Lonsonczy and request them to smooth the way for setting up a revolutionary government," Janos Kadar says in the interview.

In the next part of the interview, Janos Kadar recalls the radio message of November 4 in which Ferenc Muennich announced the formation of the revolutionary worker-peasant government. Muennich and his associates came to Budapest with the Soviet troops immediately afterwards, while Kadar stayed in Szolnok until the evening of November 6 when he joined the Soviet tank convoy bound for Budapest.

In connection with the legitimacy of the Kadar government, he says, "We were authorized by the same body, the Presidential Council, which relieved Imre Nagy and his government. Although the body was not represented in full numbers, its president and secretary and the parliamentary speaker were there, and we took an oath in front of them. Given the emergency situation, I think the procedure complied with all formalities. True, it took years for many countries to recognize us, but at that time, that was not our main concern."

One of the aims of the new government was the pullout of Soviet troops from the country. In this context, Janos Kadar has this to say:

"We believed in earnest that the case of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty had to be reexamined after consolidation, and an agreement reached on their withdrawal in an orderly manner. Some counter-opinions were also voiced, though. Our Soviet comrades did not reject the idea, and in the late 1950s, it was mentioned by Comrade Khruschev himself that a pullout could be considered after reorganization of the Hungarian People's Army and the restoration of political and economic conditions. Our view then was that our domestic position did not require the Soviet military presence, but the international circumstancs seemed immature for such a step."

The interview ends with Kadar's words on Imre Nagy: "The tragedy of Imre Nagy is my personal tragedy. Now, it's time to talk about him and about all that happened."

### Yugoslav Paper Interviews Prime Minister Nemeth

*LD1806161389 Belgrade TANJUG in English*
*1200 GMT 18 Jun 89*

[Text] Belgrade, June 18 (TANJUG)—The socialist countries which are now implementing reforms, such as Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia, should coordinate their cooperation and jointly appear before international financial institutions, Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth said in an interview published in the Belgrade daily POLITIKA on Sunday.

Announcing a working meeting with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic later this year, Nemeth said: "There will be a lot to talk about, since the two governments have similar aspirations". Yugoslavs and Hungarians should stimulate and strengthen each other, and learn from each other's experience, the Hungarian prime minister said.

Cooperation with the International Monetary Fund is beneficial for Hungary, but as of lately there have been some discord there, he said. "The main problem is that the IMF does not take into account the fact that the economies of Hungary, Yugoslavia or Poland are not as yet completely market economies, so that these countries are not able to apply radical reforms which are expected of them," he added. He compared IMF's behaviour with that of Moliere's physician who cures each patient with castor oil regardless of the nature of the illness.

The structure of the Hungarian economy is in crisis because it is based on the premises of CMEA (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) which is also in crisis, and we therefore urge radical reforms in this economic grouping as well, Nemeth said. The Poles and the Soviets have similar views, and support such a direction too, he added.

Nemeth also said that a favourable climate exists for cooperation between the economic groupings of the East and West, and their countries. If relations between the groupings improve, this will benefit peace and stability, as there will be less military in politics, the Hungarian prime minister said. The policy of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is paving the way for this, which also implies better conditions for Hungary's cooperation with the West, he concluded.

## Government Makes Personnel Changes

*LD1606084689 Budapest MTI in English*
*0654 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—During its Thursday session, the Hungarian Government decided on questions of personnel. It proposed the Presidential Council should relieve of their posts Andras Knopp, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Education and Culture and Atilla Madarasi, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance, because of their retirement as of June 30, and Imre Szabo, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Industry, as of July 1 with the simultaneous recognition of their merits. At the same time, the body recommended the appointment, with effect from July 1, of Ferenc Pusztai as under-secretary of state for the Ministry of Education and Culture, Peter Kunos as under-secretary of state for the Ministry of Finance, Dr Imre Szabo and Pal Laszlo as under-secretaries of state for the Ministry of Industry.

The government initiated that the Presidential Council commission Erno Horvath ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to head of the Hungarian Embassy in Tehran. The Council of Ministers decided to relieve of their functions, as of June 15, Ervin Nagy, deputy minister of transport, because of another commission, and Ferenc Pusztai, deputy minister of education and culture, and Peter Kunos, vice-president of the Office of the Council of Ministers, as of June 30.

The Council of Ministers relieved of their posts Gabor Deak, president of the State Officed for Youth and Sports, with recognition of his merits, Deputy Minister Gyorgy Marosan, head of the Press Office of the Council of Ministers, on his own request with recognition of his merits, Antal Pongracz, general vice- president of the State Office for Youths and Sports with recognition of his merits, Tamas Ajan, Mrs Kralik Erzsebet Cser and Tamas Tibor, vice-presidents of the State Office for Youth and Sports, with recognition of their merits, Barna Sarkadi Nagy, general vice-president of the State Office for Church Affairs, and Peter Bugar, vice-president of the State Office for Church Affairs, with recognition of their merits as of July 1, and Andras Patko, deputy minister of finance, with recognition of his merits as of July 31.

The Council of Ministers appointed Karoly Manhercz as deputy minister of education and culture as of June 15, Henrik Auth and Peter Reiniger deputy minister of industry as of July 1 and Istvan Tompe, deputy minister of finance as of August 1.

## Interior Ministry Official on Romanian Refugees

*AU1606200689 Budapest MTI in English*
*1233 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, 15 June (MTI)—The Council of Ministers is to discuss the issue of opening refugee camps in Hajduszoboszlo, Bekescsaba and Bicske today.

Zoltan Gal, deputy minister of the Interior, gave the following statement to the daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP" on the matter:

'Nowadays, 63 out of every 100 refugees are ethnic Hungarians, and the remainder are Romanians and Germans. Many of them consider Hungary a springboard for going on to a third country.

'During the first five months, 3,231 people fled to, and 1,670 resettled in, Hungary, and 274 minors were allowed to join their refugee parents. 1,607 people left Hungary, while 233 returned to Romania voluntarily. 14,605 people now have residence permits.

'Should the government accept the proposal, refugee camps will be opened withiin a few months in Bekescsaba, Hajduszoboszlo and Bicske. For this, we have asked help from the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees,' the deputy minister of the interior said.

## Hungarian Priest on Romanian Refugees

*AU1506092189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Jun 89 p 4*

[Interview with Presbyterian Priest Geza Nemeth by "L.Z.": "From One Extreme to the Other...."—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Alarming rumors are spreading about an increasing number of refugees arriving in Hungary, and, allegedly, most of these people are not Hungarians, but people driven by a desire for adventure or the hope of a better and easier life, rather than by some kind of persecution. What is the truth? We asked this of Geza Nemeth, who is known to be an outspoken person.

[Question] It is less known that an increasing number of refugees arriving in Hungary from Romania are not Hungarians....

[Nemeth] Yes, that is true. About one-third of the average 200 people who succeed in crossing the border in 1 week are not Hungarians. Some 300 Romanians, Romanian Gypsies, and Hungarian Gypsies cross the border illegally in 1 month.

[Question] How many such people can Hungary support for a long time?

[Nemeth] I do not know. Obviously, there are already thousands of non-Hungarian refugees in Hungary. It is increasingly difficult for them to continue to another country, although almost all of them crossed the Hungarian border with the intention of traveling on. I am not sure that the UN Office of Refugee Affairs, due to be established in Hungary soon, will be able to direct thousands of unskilled Romanians to the West. [passage omitted]

[Question] You also mentioned the problem of gypsy refugees....

[Nemeth] Yes. The number of both Romanian-speaking and Hungarian-speaking Gypsies who escape across the border has been constantly increasing in recent months. I do not call them refugees because they are not persecuted there either on grounds of their politics or nationality. Hungary's population, the people in the cities and villages of Hungary, should decide on how many Romanian and Hungarian Gypsies they want to resettle from Romania. [passage omitted]

[Question] You have been systematically dealing with the non-Hungarian refugees on behalf of the Hungarian Presbyterian Church. What is the mood among these people?

[Nemeth] I myself have distributed some 500 Romanian-language Bibles in recent weeks, and also tens of thousands of forints in aid. We are helping these people in thousands of smaller or bigger problems. However, we cannot evaluate their real needs. Unfortunately, they are unable to go to the West and they are increasing in number. Western countries "cream off" the skilled people, the people who speak languages, and the intellectuals.... Many of these people do not even have a passport, and we do not know who they really are. Thus, we cannot even control them from a public safety viewpoint. There might be criminals and thieves among them, people coming from jails....

[Question] Why? Have there been such cases?

[Nemeth] It happened here, in my home, that one refugee pointed to another and said that the man had been imprisoned for 10 years for murder. As it turned out, the person in question had served 5 years, and had received an amnesty, and his first trip was across the border. [passage omitted]

Neither can we control the activity of the Romanian secret service, the Securitate. Only in my parish, under the influence of my religious prayers, have four secret service people confessed so far. They confessed in writing that they were secret service people sent across the border. Later, they also maintained this in front of Hungarian security authorities.

The group led by Corneliu Roska, the Romania Libera [Free Romania] are particularly active among the Romanians here. This man is the founder of one of the wings of this organization. He is no longer in Hungary, and he will probably become the new head of the main organization in the United States. He and his group were inciting the people against Hungary and against Hungarians. They are holding daily meetings in front of the Forum Hotel in Budapest. They are guided by the Romania Libera organization led by Ion Raciu and located in Washington. [passage omitted]

## Bush, Baker To Visit Hungary 11-13 Jul

*AU1606165789 Budapest MTI in English 0649 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 14 (MTI)—American President George Bush is to pay an official visit to Budapest from July 11 to 13, MTI's Washington correspondent reports.

The President's European tour is to begin in Warsaw on July 9. President Bush is to arrive in Budapest on July 11, and will spend two nights in Hungary. He is to continue on to Paris on July 13, to attend this year's summit of the leading Western countries. The American President is to pay a brief visit to the Netherlands after his stay in Paris.

The President will be accompanied by Secretary of State James Baker, and other senior government officials.

### Soviet Battalion Finishes Withdrawal

*LD1706003289 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2331 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—The last vehicle from the independent Soviet truck battalion of the northern group of the Soviet Army, temporarily stationed in Poland, left Poland tonight crossing the border bridge in the city of Terespol.

Soldiers of this unit were ceremoniously bidden farewell in Swidnica, the Walbrzych Voivodship, on June 15, where the battalion stationed for 26 years.

The battalion is the first unit of the northern group of the Soviet Army to be withdrawn from Poland in tune with the announcement of the withdrawal from Poland of some of the units of the Soviet Army.

### Students Hold Anti-Soviet Demonstration

*LD1606163589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish*
*1515 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] A student demonstration has now been going on for an hour at the Mickiewicz monument [in Warsaw]. The participants—not too many and not too aggressive—are scattering leaflets and chanting "Soviets go home, dump your tanks in the Volga." Whenever the militia call on them to disperse, the demonstrators escape on to the church steps. A disturbance is on and that is all that matters to its participants.

### Warsaw Radio Reports Events

*LD1706093989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish*
*0100 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Under the slogan "Soviets go home," several hundred young people from various political groupings organized a demonstration of very aggressive character in the Krakowskie Przemiescie, Warsaw. [date not specified] Demonstrators did not limit themselves to shouting provocative slogans; they also threw smoke bombs, bottles, and bricks at militiamen. Several militiamen were wounded, and several of the most aggressive demonstrators were detained.

### Police Disperse Demonstrators

*AU1706125689 Paris AFP in English*
*1307 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 17 (AFP)—Police violently dispersed a street demonstration here late Friday by several hundred youths calling for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Poland.

The demonstrators, who retreated to a nearby church, replied with petrol bombs and stones. Hostilities were brought to a halt after an hour by the intervention of the parish priest.

Thousands of youths have repeatedly demonstrated in the last few days in front of the Soviet consulate at Krakow, in the south of the country, demanding the withdrawal of the troops. Some Soviet troops are already scheduled to leave.

### Second Round of Voting Set for 18 Jun

*LD1606210389 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2021 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—The second round of voting will take place this Sunday, June 18. 295 deputy and 8 senator seats which remain to be filled will be contested by 587 and 16 candidates respectively.

Sunday's voting will be carried out according to the same voters' lists which were binding on June 4. This time however there will be no voting in districts abroad and on Polish ships. Hence the number of eligible voters is somewhat lower than 2 weeks ago when it topped 27.3 million people.

### Election Turnout Estimated at 'Over 20 Percent'

*LD1806194189 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1856 GMT 18 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 18—Election turnout in Poland was estimated at over 20 per cent at 6 p.m. today, according to preliminary estimates from 51 electoral districts, that is nearly half the total number, the Polish TV prime time news bulletin reported tonight quoting data received from the State Electoral Commission.

The highest turnout of some 50 percent was recorded in the central town of Pila.

### Estimates at 25.31 Percent

*LD1906083989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish*
*0500 GMT 19 Jun 89*

[Text] According to information released by the State Electoral Commission, the initial turnout figure in the election run-offs amounts to 25.31 percent of those having the right to vote.

### Correspondent Interviews Walesa After Voting

*LD1806183189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish*
*1700 GMT 18 Jun 89*

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Lech Walesa cast his vote at 1000. When we spoke 2 weeks ago you said that, really, you voted for the second time in your life. This time you are going to vote for the third time, and probably with a completely different attitude.

[Walesa] I think that this is not my third time, rather it is 2A, I am going to vote for the second a time. Something was started, something must be finished. We said A, now let us say B. I would like reformers to enter the future Sejm and Senate and these electoral lists contain names of people who are not all reformers. I bank on the reformers; they are badly needed in Poland.

[Correspondent] I do not see your son with you.

[Walesa] I had a choice of leaving my son with the kids or my wife with the kids. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Private duties, public duties, how do you reconcile all this?

[Walesa] I am managing so far but I have more and more trouble. The children are growing up and demand more time, and there is less and less time. I hope that I will retire soon and then I will spend more time on domestic matters.

[Correspondent] One can say that at least in Gdansk Voivodship, the elections, as far as Solidarity is concerned, are finished. Did you expect such a result?

[Walesa] No, this is more than we wanted, but at the same time it shows that although society has voted for Solidarity, we do not have 45 years behind us. We must demonstrate more rapidly that we can produce results, I am very worried if we can manage to show good results in less than 45 years.

[Correspondent] There is talk about joint responsibility of the opposition for the fate of the state. What does this look like from your side?

[Walesa] There are two concepts: Some say that we should already enter into a coalition with the government, other say no, we must remain a movement of reforms, we must return to the second stage of our development. The first stage was to win freedom and pluralism, we managed with this issue very well, we ended doing this at the roundtable. The second, following achievement of freedom and pluralism, is to organize into different topics: economic, social, and political, to work out programs and prepare the personnel. Only then we should go to elections. We have bypassed the second stage and we went straight from the first to the third stage.

I propose that we go back, we should not enter into any governing set-ups, anything involving the government, but we ought to support the government whenever it goes in the direction of economic, political, and other reforms, support it strongly, but not allowing it to deviate from the course of reforms. In other words, we should remain an opposition, a constructive opposition which is helpful in line with the way it is (?done in the world), which would not allow any deviation from the reforms.

## Solidarity Spokesman Views 2d Round of Elections

*LD1606185989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] [Announcer] Solidarity's press spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz met with Polish and foreign journalists in the Radio and TV Committee's building in Warsaw. He said, among other things:

[Begin Onyszkiewicz recording] The first part of the election is behind us. This was a colossal success for Solidarity. Naturally, the elections are not over. In several electoral districts Solidarity candidates will run in the second round. We hope that all of them will be elected, that the electorate will support them as they supported our candidates throughout the country. But the second round does not only concern our candidates, those who will be speaking in the Sejm and Senate on behalf of the electorate, but it will also be the election of those with whom our representatives in the Sejm and the Senate will be talking. Therefore, it is not unimportant who will be elected in the second round.

As we know, the National List has been rejected by the community. At present we have new candidates for the vacant 33 seats. Many of them are little known so far, but there are also persons whom we know from the roundtable discussion, such as Andrzej Gdula, Deputy Premier Sekula. I think that, thanks to the second round, the new Sejm will contain persons who are known to us from the roundtable discussion, who represent the roundtable line, and who thus will be good partners in the discussions on further reforms and democratization in Poland.

The second issue, which will become paramount after 18 June, is the organization of the Union. The question is being asked what to do with the Citizens' Committees. At present they are the subject of discusion and consultations.

The view prevails fairly generally that these committees should remain in some form, that in no sense should they constitute competition for Solidarity, agricultural Solidarity, or workers Solidarity. But they do have a concrete and very important task to perform: the preparation of future elections to local self-management, not only to prepare candidates and help them to gather experience, but also the preparation of local programs on the level of parish, district, town, and voivodship. [end recording]

## Elections, Political 'Realities' Assessed

*AU1606114789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jun 89 pp 1, 2*

[Ryszard Wojna commentary: "We Are Ruled by Realities"]

[Text] In school mathematics, equations with several unknowns are considered to be the hardest. In politics one can get equations where all the factors are known and yet their solution is not made any easier because of it. Poland today is faced by this difficult problem. All the factors of this problem are known to us, and we know the logic that lies behind them, nevertheless forming an equation from these factors which could give a sensible solution is becoming, as I see it, increasingly complicated.

With the passing of time from 4 June, the effects of the almost 100 percent victory for the "Solidarity" Citizens Committee in the light of the limited number of seats in the Sejm granted to the opposition by the "roundtable", and in the light of "Solidarity's" total domination of the Senate, are radiating in increasingly wider circles through various social spheres. Jointly with this, pressure is growing in some opposition circles on Lech Walesa and the leadership of the Citizens Committee to extract even greater fruits from this victory than those which are implied from the written and unwritten agreements concluded with the governing side before the elections. In a nutshell, within a certain part of the opposition there is a growing tendency, which may be intentionally fuelled by some people, toward what in similar circumstances has generally become known as "accelerating history."

One has to coldly analyze whether in reality and as a result of the outcome of the elections there is a possibility of accelerating history along the lines conceived by some "Solidarity" activists, and to quicken the tempo in relation to the agreements negotiated at the "roundtable" or in its vicinity, bearing in mind that the crucial agreement was the acceptance of an evolutionary road toward adapting the state and its mechanisms to the system of parliamentary democracy.

Have the elections, and the success of the "Solidarity" Citizens Committee, really altered the fundamental principles of the Polish program at the end of the 20th century? Is the opening of a new epoch in the history of People's Poland a watershed which will permit one to ignore all that which defines it today, and behind which stand the material forces of a state organization?

In the politics of each country there are constant elements and changeable elements. To the latter category belong the alignments of political forces which undergo changes not only between each other but also within themselves. I consider that we are at the very beginning of a realignment and a differentiation of such forces. The process of crystallization of the several political currents within the opposition is still to come. Gone is the time when a mere negative attitude to the present system was considered a sufficient program which could cement the opposition together.

Equally, the ruling coalition side has to bear in mind that the election results may give rise to diverging forces which could change the present shape of the coalition. Both in the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and in the Democratic Party [SD] there are already discernible tendencies to assert their respective identities, and even to acknowledge the possibility of an eventual different political realignment.

One cannot also rule out that within the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] there will not emerge different opinions as a result of the election, opinions which have their roots in the differing views which the decisions of the 10th Central Committee Plenum provoked. Those decisions, in my opinion, changed the character of the party. They closed the post-Stalinist period of its history. Since that time maintaining that the party is still the same party but in an essentially different form, is no longer worth discussing. For my own personal convenience, after the 10th Plenum I refer to my party as PZPR Mark 2.

All the above leads one to suppose that the two block system of political forces in our country could be slowly eroded and give way to a broad spectrum which would allow new political combinations. Whichever way these political changes develop internally, the fundamental realities which face Polish political forces remain the same, and govern us! Jozef Pilsudski often recalled the words with which Napoleon addressed his generals: "Mais c'est la realite des choses qui commande, messieurs"! (But it is the reality of things which governs, gentlemen!).

I will limit myself to some of these realities, and to which the opposition cannot be indifferent, and I list them without any order of importance.

I. The democratic transformations in the Warsaw Pact member states are conditional on the inviolability of the strategic alignment of forces in Europe. Both military blocks on our continent have hitherto been groupings serving the interests of different ideological values, and both components, namely the military and the ideological, still remain closely linked to one another.

II. To these realities one must also add the character of the state which so far has remained unbroken by any revolution. Is it possible that the opposition will be able to accept decisions concerning the state when nearly all of its leaders comes from the "other side"? The accepted principle of the evolutionary character of changes presupposes that these will take place gradually and be accepted by the apparatus of the authorities, and this will only become possible as suspicions and prejudices are dispelled. A change of the ruling team in Poland cannot be compared to, for example, a replacement of a Republican President of the United States by a Democratic one.

III. To the realities which will remain unchanged for a long time yet, one has to add the very difficult economic situation and the necessity of carrying out not so much economic reforms as fundamental changes to the economic system in the presence of profound links with the Soviet Union and other countries belonging to CEMA, in the absence of any hard currency reserves and raw materials, and at a time of constant vigilance to see whether the next wave of protest strikes does not completely block the way leading to the transformation of the economy.

There are many more of these unchanging realities which every ruling team answerable for the country will have to face whatever its political composition may be, but it is sufficient to refer to the above three to understand that no one will be able to transform Poland in the face of unyielding positions held by the forces which do not form part of the government.

In the distant future this situation will no doubt change, but today this is the situation. It is this situation which governs us all. The knowledge of this has reached many leading "Solidarity" activists, but not all.

The solution of the equation which contains features of the Polish contemporary problem will only be possible with the participation of all the represented political forces of our society.

In what guise this takes place is not the most important matter. A joint government coalition seems to be the simplest solution, but appears to be unreal, as the process of self identity of the specific groupings within the Citizens Committee has not yet sufficiently matured. Choosing to stay in opposition, the Citizens Committee maintains unity within its ranks.

Nevertheless, other forms of joint action are possible, even though these may be limited to a certain minimum of the most important problems of the country, on which consensus is necessary and even possible, as proved by the "roundtable".

The Consultative Commission can play an inestimable role in the search for the aims and the forms of this necessary joint action. Its importance has increased at a time when it has become clear that a major part of the leadership of the ruling party coalition, who were on the national list, will no longer be in the Sejm. The platform which will guarantee talks and contacts will thus still be the Consultative Commission, and much work undoubtedly awaits this commission before the Sejm and the Senate and later the National Assembly convene. In a large measure, the workings of the commission will set the atmosphere for the first parliamentary debates leading up to the first major decisions.

## Further on Visit by France's Mitterrand

### Activities Summarized

*LD1606010189 Warsaw PAP in English 0025 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 15—On the second day of his official visit to Poland, French President Francois Mitterrand received Polish Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at breakfast this morning.

From the Polish side the meeting was attended by: Vice Premier Ireneusz Sekula, Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski, Minister of Finance Andrzej Wroblewski. The French president was accompanied by Minister of Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas.

Mitterrand then went to Warsaw's Teatralny Square where he laid flowers at the foot of the monument to Warsaw's heroes. He strolled for a short while through the old town's streets, acquainting himself with the postwar reconstruction of Warsaw. He also visited the royal castle.

The castle's exhibits were replenished by a renaissance cupboard which the French president donated. At the end of his visit in the castle, Mitterrand signed the visitor's book.

In the afternoon President Francois Mitterrand and wife arrived in Gdansk. At the airport in Rebiechow, bedecked with Polish and French flags, the French president was welcomed by representatives of the region's authorities and the chief-of-staff of the Polish Navy.

From the airport Mitterrand left for Westerplatte. While driving through Gdansk streets, he was cordially welcomed and greeted by numerous residents.

Westerplatte, a place where the first shots of World War Two were fired at dawn on September 1, 1939. The defence of this patch of land at the entry to the port became a symbol of the heroism of the Polish soldier in September 1939. Here the French president was greeted by president of the council of state, supreme commander of the Polish Armed Forces Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and the commander of the navy, Rear Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk.

The esteemed guests were welcomed at the foot of the monument to the defenders of the coast towering over the port by the representative unit of the navy. After listening to the national anthems of France and Poland, Mitterrand and Jaruzelski laid wreaths decorated with ribbons in national colours at the foot of the monument. They paid homage to Polish soldiers and all the victims of World War Two.

After listening to the history of the crew of Westerplatte, Mitterrand stated: "It was here that a new world began—born of tragedy—thanks to the courage of soldiers who sacrificed their life. At present the point is to govern in a way which would allow war to be replaced in Europe and the world by peace...One does not build peace without courage and great patriotism but now this patriotism should take on a new, different dimension...One cannot buy peace, cannot consolidate it if one resigns from action. One builds peace in the spirit of reconciliation among those who fought against each other in the past, provided that everyone respects the basic interests, personality and identity of everyone. How can one not think about this while being in Westerplatte."

The French president and the president of the Council of State of Poland next sailed onboard the flag motorboat of the navy, through the port canal to Gdansk's center: the old town.

Mitterrand and Jaruzelski walked through the most beautiful part of Gdansk's old town and the city's governors accompanied them, telling about the efforts which the people of Gdansk had made to rebuild the old town of which more than 90 percent had been destroyed during World War II.

The visitors ended their walk in front of the jewel of Gdansk's monuments, a city hall from the 16th century in which a museum of the city history is located at present, where they were welcomed by the Mayor of Gdansk Kazimierz Rynkowski.

In the white chamber of the city hall a meeting was held of the president of France and Poland's president of the Council of State with the city's and the region's authorities, councillors, outstanding representatives of Gdansk science and culture. The war started not far from here, at Westerplatte, said Rynkowski at the meeting, leaving ashes and ruins behind. We took up the toil of reconstruction after the war in order to save the identity of the city's history which is a part of the European and World's culture. Today Gdansk is a symbol of changes in Poland. Agreement, renewal, reforms are words which were born here and are now anchored for good. Gdansk is also a city of numerous international contacts and broad cooperation with many foreign cities, including Bulogne-sul Mar in France.

Rynkowski gave the French president gifts, including a reprint of the sky's atlas "Firmamentum Sobiescanum" elaborated by the most renowned Gdansk scientist, the "prince of astronomers" Jan Hevelius who used to maintain scientific contacts with almost the whole Europe and enjoyed a particular esteem with the French King Louis XIV.

This morning, stated Mitterrand, we started the visit in Westerplatte. It was a sudden entrance into history, into the history of histories which everyone lived through in their own way. The moment when the first cannons fired meant Poland's and the world's entanglement in World War II. It was just there, in Westerplatte, that we could appreciate the capacity for resistance and the patriotism of Poles. Then we entered the city where another gust of history seemed to have engulfed us by these rebuilt streets, houses, and squares. Yet, the same features can be found both in the defence of Westerplatte and the reconstruction of Gdansk: perseverence, courage, fidelity to homeland.

At the end of his speech Mitterrand addressed Jaruzelski. I thank you, he said, for scheduling this visit to Gdansk during my visit to Poland.

Bidden good-bye by numerous residents of Gdansk, the visitors left the city hall. The president of France was bidden farewell by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Mitterrand made a stopover in the Gdansk hotel "Heweliusz" where he received the chairman of Solidarity Lech Walesa accompanied by some of his advisers at breakfast.

Before talks which were held behind closed doors Walesa told reporters: I am glad that the president has come here, that I shall be able to speak about Poland and Polish problems. They are mainly economic problems which may hinder our good political situation. At the same time I recall that it was just the president of France who "unblocked" the Polish situation. I must deem this as a historic moment. There were political facts, one must make economic ones now. I hope that after this visit such possibilities will open up.

After the talks Mitterrand accompanied by Walesa arrived at the Solidarity Robotnicza Square under the monument to fallen shipyard workers which was unveiled on December 16, 1980 on the 10th anniversary of the workers' protest in coastal Poland. The two laid wreaths made of flowers in the national colours of France and Poland.

Accompanied by Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, Mitterrand ended his stay in Gdansk with a visit at the French military cemetery where more than 1,300 French soldiers and officers are buried who died on the Polish territory in World War II. With a minute of silence Mitterrand paid homage to those who rest in the Polish soil forever, and laid flowers on their tombs on behalf of the French nation.

After the ceremonies at the cemetery, President Mitterrand left for the Rebiechow Airport from where he flew to Krakow.

Having arrived at the Balice Airport near Krakow the president with his wife were welcomed by Poland's Vice-President of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski and the city's authorities. The guest, accompanied by Minister Olechowski among others, then made for the Forum Hotel in Krakow where he is staying in Krakow. In the evening Mitterrand had a short walk along the boulevards by the Vistula River.

On Friday the Polish visit of the president of France will come to an end.

## Mitterrand Talks With Students

*LD1606183189 Paris Domestic Service in French 1700 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] While people are talking about the past in Budapest, people were thinking of the future in Krakow. On the third and last day of his official visit to Poland and before the news conference which he is due to hold right now, President Mitterrand had a discussion for part of the afternoon with university students, as has become a habit for him when he goes to Eastern bloc countries, on this occasion with those of Krakow. Ralph Pinto was a few paces from the head of state, microphone in hand.

[Begin Mitterrand recording] I have met Mr Gorbachev four or five times. We have discussed the Joint European home; and I remember one day I replied to him: Yes, but one needs furniture in a home and it cannot always be the same people who live in the attic or the cellar. So serious discussions are needed. The idea is a grand one, a fine one. I am quite determined to take part in joint construction on behalf of France.

But let us discuss the furniture: What is one going to put inside? More or less democracy? More or fewer liberties? More or fewer policies of social justice? More or fewer individual initiatives? More or less armaments? [end recording]

### Mitterrand Meets With Jaruzelski

*LD1606211689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The French president's visit to our country is coming to an end. Francois Mitterrand's press conference in the reception rooms of Warsaw's Victoria Hotel is also coming to an end. [passage omitted]

Before bidding farewell to Krakow, President Mitterrand took a walk through the main market square. Warmly greeted by the inhabitants of the city he was shown the most important monuments—the Cloth Hall, the Town Hall tower, Collegium Maius, and St Mary's church with its altar by Wit Stwosz. Meanwhile, Mrs Mitterrand visited the Stefan Zeromski Hospital in Nowa Huta. Here, too, there was much mutual warmth.

Immediately on his return from Krakow, Francois Mitterrand met with Wojciech Jaruzelski at Belweder; they continued their earlier talks. After the meeting in the Hall of Mirrors, Francois Mitterrand presented this gift to the chairman of the State Council.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] We have always been close. I think that we are going to be closer still. [end recording]

[Announcer] The French president received a painting of Warsaw's Castle Square.

At 1900, the French president's press conference began. Francoise Mitterrand said, among other things:

[Begin Mitterrand recording in French fading to Polish translation] I think that Wojciech Jaruzelski, the premier, and other figures I have met are brave people. They agreed to take upon themselves what, in fact, is an extremely difficult thing and much is going to follow from this. They have shown courage and skill. These are my personal reflections, but I think that they are true patriots and they want good for their country.

As far as the principles by which they are guided are concerned, I am not entitled to judge this. They have shown that they want to proceed in the direction of democracy. The question is whether it was an easy or difficult decision, whether it is an easy or difficult road. The work which has been undertaken requires a great sense of responsibility. In saying this, I express my respect for the Polish leadership.

The same values can be expected of those who won in the general election, especially Solidarity. This is a great national cause which has no equal anywhere. The people must have a sense of liberty and be great patriots. And because feelings often overcome commonsense these have to be sensible plans. [end recording]

[Announcer] I have just received a report saying that President Francois Mitterrand of the French Republic has invited Wojciech Jaruzelski to pay an official visit to France.

### More on News Conference

*LD1606215889 Warsaw PAP in English 2136 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—I am moved by the reception I got from the Polish authorities and from various social movements, including "Solidarity" in Gdansk. I convey my thanks to all those who received us so grandly and offered us their friendship, said President of France Francois Mitterrand at the end of a forty-minute conference staged here today for Polish and foreign newsmen reporting on his official visit to Poland.

Asked about impressions from his meetings with Wojciech Jaruzelski and Miecyslav F. Rakowski, the president stated that they are courageous people as they agreed to meet new challenges. They are true patriots, he said, who are motivated by the country's welfare.

One of the questions concerned a document worked out by the "Solidarity" experts and containing a request for the aid of ten billion dollars for Poland. In his reply Francois Mitterrand stated that there had been no time so far to study the document, but he defined it as very interesting and bold in its conceptions as it proposed not a gift but an investment outlay, money that would lift production. The president said that some time was needed to provide an answer and added that neither could he remain indifferent to the proposals made on the issue by the government as the relations between two countries were involved here.

Speaking on the situation on the continent, the French president expressed an opinion that presently communication between two Europes has been rendered possible. Referring to the concept of the Common European home, he said that it is not an indifferent thing how it will be furnished and whether some of its residents will permanently occupy room at the attic or in the cellar.

### Mitterrand Departs Warsaw

*LD1606220189 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2111 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—President of the French Republic Francois Mitterrand ended his three-day official visit to Poland in the evening today. The farewell ceremony was held at the Warsaw Airport.

The French president and his wife were bidden farewell by Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife.

### Jaruzelski Discusses Political Stabilization

*LD1806152989 Belgrade TANJUG in English*
*1453 GMT 18 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 18 (TANJUG)—Polish state and party leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski today said that conditions were being created for the country's stabilization despite the complicated situation, particularly in the Polish United Workers' Party [PUWP].

In his talk with the journalists, Jaruzelski said that he did not regret his initiative for the expansion of democratic freedoms.

Jaruzelski expects that a kind of coalition will be created, that is, that general agreement on the most important questions regarding the country's development will be reached.

Jaruzelski believes that the country can be ruled by consensus even in the current difficult conditions, but that the reforms are in need of a strong government.

According to Jaruzelski, the developments will confirm that the PUWP is a political force which inspires Poland's development and carries out reforms aimed at strengthening socialism in Poland.

### Jaruzelski Addresses Emigres in London 11 Jun

*AU1706174789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*
*12 Jun 89 p 4*

[Speech by State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski at a meeting with Polish emigres at the Polish Embassy in London on 11 June]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen. Esteemed fellow countrymen. Every time I leave Poland on an official or unofficial visit, I try to meet with Poles who are scattered all over the globe, for although there is obviously a Poland between the Bug and Odra Rivers and between the Baltic and Tatra Mountains, there is also a Poland wherever Polish hearts are beating, wherever people think in Polish, wherever they are pleased with Poland's successes and concerned about Poland's failures.

I see in this hall comrades-in-arms, worthy soldiers. It is here in Great Britain that special kinds of combat events occurred which cemented the friendship and comradeship-in-arms between the soldiers of the anti-Hitler coalition. Here, Polish soldiers, airmen, and seamen wrote glorious chapters of our history. I am only spending a short time in Great Britain, in fact, only 24 hours. My schedule is very busy, but I considered it essential to visit two military cemeteries plus the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. This is particularly important because we are approaching the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II and the Hitlerite attack on Poland. This is a particularly memorable anniversary for all of us, and although the war scattered us all over the world—some of us returned to Poland, some stayed here, and some of us have already died—we can interpret these events 50 years later without the emotion that shook us then.

As you know, I returned to Poland from the east. I might equally well have returned, or failed to return, from the west, but, as fate would have it, I ended up in the army of General Berling, not General Anders. Those were our fortunes. They should unite us, because thoughts, intentions, and desires were the same: to fight for the freedom of the fatherland. However, what is most important of all are future generations, those who will inherit everything that is good in our history and reject what is bad.

You residents of Great Britain perceive this country's numerous qualities which brought it historical successes and prosperity. We too treasure and are proud of our heroic history, but we need more today. What counts today is work, intellect, and discipline, qualities that we have frequently lacked in the past. We want to take from everyone everything that is the best, and at the same time show the world with pride all those achievements of ours that are a source of pride and are worthy of respect and emulation.

The Polish communities of various countries should preserve the great values that they took with them out of our country. At the same time, while maintaining contacts with Poland, they should exert an influence on Polish affairs and spread the conviction that we can only make progress by means of steadfast work and effort.

Poland has found itself at a particularly important turning point in history. The turn has to be negotiated; we cannot lose our balance. We are doing everything we can to maintain it. Of particular value to us is the support of our fellow countrymen. In difficult times, we need to know that there are millions of people who are emotionally close to us, even if geographically they are far away. Please excuse my digression, but I heard people singing here. I am not offended. That illustrates youth, and a different way of looking at the world. The point is that we should be united by certain supreme values.

Even in a family there is not always harmony, but does that mean the family should split up? No. The great family of Poland should also stay together, especially now that we are facing a historic challenge and now that there is now a great chance for this country of almost 40 million people—55 million if we include Poles abroad—situated in the heart of Europe and possessing a wonderful history and traditions, enormous potential, and many millions of educated and highly-qualified people.

One can voice various reservations and critical remarks about the road we have been following over the past 45 years. We ourselves admit bitterly that we could have done many things better, more quickly, and more wisely. However, no one can take People's Poland from us. No one can deny that we have created several generations of educated and enlightened people. Those are our great assets, which will enable us to accomplish the tasks facing us if we marshal our forces and implement the great idea of national accord. Surely you are interested in what is happening in Poland. Times are important. We are confident that these processes will develop favorably. We want the warm support of our countrymen abroad, especially those who realize that one cannot be offended by one's own country just because not everything in Poland is the way we would like, those who realize that there is only one Poland and that it is necessary to do one's best to make things better. I understand that there are people here and in other places who think and feel this way. I would like to thank you for guarding Poland's good name and for not forgetting about your own country while living abroad. Please accept my best wishes for success in your life and work, and best wishes for your friends and everyone close to you. I wish you much health, and I hope to see you in Poland.

### Jaruzelski's Visits to Britain, Belgium Viewed

*AU1706175389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 89 pp 1, 4*

[Commentary by Zygmunt Slomkowski: "The View From Warsaw"]

[Text] The talks and meetings that Wojciech Jaruzelski held in Belgium and Britain have to be viewed from several angles. The first of them is naturally connected with the process of normalizing relations between Poland and the West and, above all, with respect to what can be termed support for our economic reforms. The information that has been received from Brussels and London indicates that our partners appreciate the need for appropriate economic and financial actions, and one can expect moves aimed at reducing or removing the obstacles to cooperation in this area to be made in the capitals of both those countries. The announcements contained in the program that was outlined by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher were particularly important.

This favorable attitude stems from recognition for the changes taking place in Poland and for the character of these changes such as it is. This was reflected in Wojciech Jaruzelski being received with full decorum at the highest level as the advocate and instigator of reform-oriented change.

There is no doubt that the determination and consistency of the Polish reform camp, which Wojciech Jaruzelski represented in London and Brussels, had a bearing on the recognition that was expressed for the Polish reforms and the belief in their continuation. Wojciech Jaruzelski had talks with Margaret Thatcher and Wilfried Martens not that long ago, and they now had an opportunity to compare the programmatic announcements that had been made with the way in which they are actually being implemented.

We know how the talks went, and they confirmed that a course geared toward sociopolitical stability strengthens our country's place in Europe and steps up its role as an element promoting political and military detente on our continent and the construction of an infrastructure for peaceful cooperation.

There was another aspect to Wojciech Jaruzelski's meetings—a national one. Fate has dictated that England, Scotland, and Wales should be linked with our history, with the lives and blood of many Poles. Wojciech Jaruzelski's presence on that soil has become a symbol of unity between Poles living in Poland and those who live and work abroad, a symbol of the common past of common sacrifice for the fatherland, irrespective of the standards under which our countrymen fought and gave their lives for Poland. His presence was also an expression of the belief that all Poles must unite for the future of our fatherland and that those matters about which we are divided should be subordinated to the highest goals, those of our country's prosperity and development.

Both Wojciech Jaruzelski's visits occurred during this period of election fever. However, here in Warsaw, it can easily be seen that the visits were in keeping with the atmosphere and hopes of these days, that they have aided the processes that we are going through, and that they accord with Poland's interests and the interests of all of us.

### Commentary on British Visit

*AU1706193889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jun 89 p 1*

[Commentary by W. Lozinski: "Post-London Reflections: The Future Calls for Calm and Cooperation"]

[Text] London. I left London on Monday [12 June] with my mind full of British reflections, thoughts, and comments on Polish matters. Of course, the immediate reason for the interest that was shown in a Polish journalist was the 2-day visit that Wojciech Jaruzelski, the chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, had paid 1 week after the first round of the elections. The TIMES, GUARDIAN, INDEPENDENT, and other London dailies did not have any doubts that the visit was needed by both Poland and Great Britain, as well as by all of Europe. This was confirmed by the extensive coverage that was accorded Wojciech Jaruzelski's talks with Margaret Thatcher, as well as by the reports on the talks that he held in Brussels.

In London Wojciech Jaruzelski was received as a leader who symbolizes the peaceful, evolutionary character of Poland's political, social, and economic changes and as the instigator of the "roundtable" meeting. Politicians of all shades in both London and in Brussels were unanimous in this view. Indeed, in both Western European capitals General Jaruzelski was seen as a leader who, by virtue of his experience and determination, could guarantee that Poland would continue to develop calmly.

Not only Margaret Thatcher, but all the journalists that interviewed General Jaruzelski asked if the results of the elections and the feeling among Poles would make it possible to establish a coalition capable of addressing a historic challenge, that of maintaining the process of reform by way of cooperation rather than confrontation.

This question is not only prompted by an interest in Poland and its future, but by visions of Europe as a whole. Even the most egocentric British can see that there is a link between events in one even small part of the continent and its future as a whole. According to British politicians and the numerous people that I spoke to, the success of the Polish reform process can be a factor that will assist the disarmament process, the elimination of confrontation, and unity in the entire continent. The opposite, the failure of the process, could put a stop to action designed to promote cooperation all over Europe for a long time. The Polish "experiment," as it is sometimes referred to in London, can also either have a negative or positive impact on the course of events in neighboring socialist states. If it has a negative impact, Europe will continue to exist in an atmosphere of division for a long time to come, and it might even lose some of its present stability. So Poland should not cause such predictions to be fulfilled. Poles should, therefore, display the maximum amount of reason and imagination.

I cannot conceal the fact that the events in China had a direct impact on the extreme nature of British fears. The PRC Embassy in London is a neighbor of the Polish diplomatic mission. The images of Chinese demonstrators caused British people to make associations that were also reflected in press commentaries. They struck a cautionary note. However, the course of events in Poland depends on the Poles alone. This undoubtedly explains why General Jaruzelski was received in London as a leader who has to be trusted and should be supported.

There was trust and support present in both the content and the tone of the statement issued by the prime minister's office. Contrary to what GAZETA WYBORCZA said on Monday [12 June], the 25 million pounds for the training of Polish managers mentioned in the statement was not the key element. What was of key importance were the formulations expressing support for the person leading the restructuring of the country, for Wojciech Jaruzelski's vision of creating a Poland that is a sovereign entity in the European community, for Wojciech Jaruzelski as a politician who should assemble a broad national coalition.

The outpourings in Monday's [12 June] GAZETA WYBORCZA limit the significance of the London talks, and must be considered worrying in light of their pettymindedness and parochialism. Gentlemen, do you really not understand that London was not at all about the scale of training free-market specialists, or about building the Bristol Hotel more quickly with English assistance? It was about issues as great as Poland's place in Europe and opening up paths for broader political, economic, and scientific cooperation. So, gentlemen, you should not be so lacking in vision, when a feeling of responsibility for the future of the country dictates that dignity should be displayed in using the opportunities that are rightly perceived in London, Brussels, and elsewhere.

The prime minister's statement, a product of the dialogue between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Margaret Thatcher, opens up new opportunities for bilateral and general European cooperation. It announces British action toward this end at Western forums, such as the EEC, the Paris Club, and the IMF. It lies in the interests of all Poles to receive these words with respect and support.

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## Walesa Interviewed for Solidarity Weekly

*AU1606174589 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 2 Jun 89 pp 1, 4*

[Interview with "Solidarity" leader Lech Walesa by Malgorzata Niezabitowska: "We Have the Kind of Poland We Deserve"—Gdansk, 4 May]

[Text] [Niezabitowska] Solidarity is legal again. To achieve this, many people fought for 7 long years, and some lost their lives. Huge sacrifices were made. Yet now that the dream of millions has come true, there is no joy or enthusiasm. Why?

[Walesa] We like to achieve victories in big battles amid the roar of cannon and beating of drums. Then we appreciate what we have won. This time, however, everything has been won by peaceful methods, in a smooth and apparently calm way. That surprises people. People ask, how come the communists gave so much without putting up a fight? That is why this victory, which was so difficult but was fought for in a different way, is not causing enthusiasm. In fact, it is causing distrust.

[Niezabitowska] We attribute this peaceful victory to the hard struggle that we fought. Since 13 December, all we have wanted is an intelligent compromise with the government. No one in his right mind believed in the possibility of an armed struggle to crush the opponent.

[Walesa] You are right, except that most people view the world in the light of features to which they are accustomed and which lie close to their hearts. This time there were no flags, banners, and crowds of people praying. There was an absence of the usual strong feelings. People missed these things. These past events are just like one's youth, to which one longs to return all one's life, but which has passed by irretrievably and one has to accept this fact. However, negotiations and hard bargaining behind closed doors is a more mature method. Such talks are long and tough, and sometimes tedious, but they are more effective. Remember how long we fought after August 1980 to have the union registered and its statute approved, and to set up Rural Solidarity and your weekly. Remember how much time and energy were wasted. This time we are starting from a different, higher position. This time we have everything at the very beginning.

[Niezabitowska] However, people are missing. They are not in a hurry.

[Walesa] Let us build this Union slowly, without emotion, without pushing. Let us build it brick by brick. It will be stronger, more durable, and perhaps not all that big. In the past, we had to respond to one monopoly with another monopoly. That was the need. Today the monopoly has disintegrated. We attribute that to "Solidarity." However, apart from "Solidarity," we also have today a farmers organization, apart from which associations are beginning to emerge. We shall have the Independent Students Union, plus political groups and parties. The union does not have to be the tractor that pulls everything.

[Niezabitowska] So what is Solidarity supposed to be like?

[Walesa] Certainly less political and more trade unionist.

[Niezabitowska] To be more precise, how do you see the Union's transfer from a militant path to a peaceful one?

[Walesa] Well, there is no doubt that we are unlucky. Toward the end of the first Solidarity era, we began to train cadres to perform normal, steady work according to the law. Yet as soon as we had gained our first professional activists, martial law came.

[Niezabitowska] Then most of them left the country. They deserted those who had selected them and placed their trust in them. Do you not think that the mass exodus of Solidarity activists, which very much upset rank and file members and was considered by them to be a betrayal, cast its shadow on the union, and that the bitterness caused by this has remained to this day?

[Walesa] Some left the country because they were weak, and others left because circumstances forced them to do so. If their place had not been taken by many new people who supported the union in its most difficult time and confirmed its authenticity, the situation might indeed have been the way you said. Well, now the situation is the opposite. We have a staff of radical activists who are excellent, tried and tested people. However, they were trained to work underground and are accustomed to struggle, whereas today it is necessary to work peacefully and by legal methods. Therefore I keep making appeals to combine these militant forces with peaceful ones, so that we do not let ourselves be lulled to sleep any more and are capable of performing steady construction work.

[Niezabitowska] Nevertheless, I fear that things will not proceed so smoothly, especially because as many as three different forces appear at the same time, and because in many factories and areas there are disputes in progress as to which structure is the "right" one—the elected structure of 1981, the underground structure, or the new structure.

[Walesa] Fortunately, common sense has prevailed over ambition in most places, and it has been possible to lead everything to a common denominator. However, there are exceptions. In some places people are even fighting it out. There are two structures in Szczecin, Lodz, and Bydgoszcz, and although there are fewer factories under the control of "oppositionist" structures, the fact remains that some factories are under this control. I am convinced that demagogical slogans still attract people here and there, because the results of what we have achieved are still not visible. However, in another 2 or 3 months, people will see what each side has done, and then those with loud voices will stand no chance. Everything will be cleared up during the elections.

[Niezabitowska] However, the elections inside the union were supposed to take place at a later date.

[Walesa] We wanted to hold them calmly and without a hurry, but in view of the present situation we will have to bring them forward. I think we will hold them immediately after the elections to the Sejm and Senate.

[Niezabitowska] Who is to be elected in these elections, which will commence at the bottom level? Thousands of people are needed all over the country. Where will they come from? After all, most of the old activists have emigrated, left the union, or grown tired of everything. The militants have to reorient themselves, which not all of them are keen on doing, while "Solidarity" factory branches consist of nothing but rank and file workers because, unlike after August 1980, the managements will have nothing to do with them. Even if the new people have the best of intentions, they have no experience. How will they manage at a time when it is not enough to bang one's fist on a table and declare a strike?

[Walesa] First of all, I have the impression that it is the workers, not the intelligentsia, who are asleep today because there is real activity in schools, colleges, and hospitals. A technological intelligentsia is also emerging, though it is true that under martial law, everyone in production plants split up into "we," the workers, and "they"—everyone above the rank of foreman, and even including foreman. Things remained that way, and sometimes I think it is good that way, because cadres and workers have always had opposite interests, and the August alliance turned out to be temporary. On the other hand, I think things can change. Where will the new activists come from? Surely no one expects us to have thousands of trained and qualified activists all of a sudden. Personally, I am pleased that because this time the union is being built more slowly, in a less militant and confrontational atmosphere than after August, those who want to act in the union will also be less temperamental and less inclined to work amid great noise, and more eager to work conscientiously and steadily.

[Niezabitowska] What will those union activists who used to indulge in politicking and presenting demands do inside factories and enterprises, now that they have discontinued their former activity?

[Walesa] We do not want to and cannot abandon this activity completely, but it is certain that in its daily work, the Union must place the emphasis elsewhere. We are inside factories not in order to indulge in grand politics, but to consistently settle more earthly issues. It should be clear that we are supposed to defend people, guard their interests, and see to it that work is easier and more dignified. Work safety and hygiene, labor law, housing—these are spheres with which the union has had little involvement so far, and now it is high time to involve ourselves in these spheres in earnest. It is also necessary to acquaint oneself with one's factory, because if someone wants to be a manager, he has to know how the wheels turn. By the way, I think specific issues will quite simply require Union intervention, and as soon as the economy picks up, Solidarity will naturally find its scope of action.

[Niezabitowska] It will certainly be difficult to convert to purely trade union activity, of which we lack knowledge and experience.

[Walesa] Well, we will not leave people stranded on their own. During my visit to Rome, at least one-third of all the talks I had with the Italian trade unions was on the subject of training our activists. For some time already in the Lenin Shipyard, Solidarity has been teaching trade unionists the art of negotiation with the help of video. Therefore, we need modern methods and suitable equipment. Foreign countries are already signalling that they will help us.

[Niezabitowska] Do you not think that the Sejm and Senate elections somewhat clash with union activity—that many of the best people will be drawn off into work as deputies, particularly that small number who are trained and experienced, and that the elections will delay the process of creating Solidarity workplace structures?

[Walesa] We had planned that the elections would be in the union, but it has turned out that the union is in the elections, because the elections have overshadowed it. However, it seems as if that is the way it had to be. Today the elections are more important, we have to focus our efforts on them, but, at the same time, the elections galvanize people into action, they are providing a certain momentum and generating the strong feeling that was lacking when Solidarity recovered its legal status. So I think that even if the elections somewhat delay the formation of union structures, it is a price worth paying. As for the Sejm and the Senate, the best, most experienced people have to enter them, because that is where decisions about changing the political system will be made, and the political system determines everything else.

[Niezabitowska] You said that the elections are generating a lot of strong feeling. That is true, but it is not necessarily of a positive kid.

[Walesa] That is understandable. I myself would prefer to begin by having full political pluralism, many parties with distinct programs, as well as a strong union with a staff of activists I could go into democratic elections with. However, the point is we do not have that, but we must start today, at a time when we still have not managed to define ourselves, neither as individuals nor as a group, and the only thing that unites us is Solidarity and the desire to help the country. Poland is falling apart socially, economically, and spiritually. So there is no time to waste, and we must take the risk now, such as we are, with all our imperfections and the faulty electoral code.

[Niezabitowska] I think that very few people disagree with the principle itself....

[Walesa] Yes, our radicals have got so worked up that they have found themselves on the other side.

[Niezabitowska] And not many people want to joint them there. However, many people are unhappy about the way in which our candidates were nominated. In their eyes, it was no lesson in democracy.

[Walesa] It could not be and indeed was not meant to provide a model, a lesson. It is the tough reality of operating in a political system that is not democratic, of operating at break-neck speed in a situation that was imposed on us and that we accepted for the sake of higher interests. This is not the time to fight over details, to make precise calculation down to the last millimeter about who is entitled to how much proportionally. Besides, how much are people entitled to? Do we know at a time when there are groups composed of barely a few dozen members or even a few thousand people that still do not have a precise policy line, and even if some individuals in them have great services to their credit is this a legitimate reason for wasting time and effort on agreeing about candidates, on personnel jostling, and adjusting programs that often contain no more than a couple of catchy slogans? My answer to that is no. We are going into the elections as a bloc so that we unite forces and win.

[Niezabitowska] But does this mean that we should just present people with a list of candidates?

[Walesa] You are saying the same thing again. You are a stubborn woman. Today, internally, we, the opposition, are at the stage of self-limiting democracy so that we can win full democracy in 4 years' time. You cannot want everything at once, because then you will lose everything, and you will be back at square one again. If we lose the elections, then our main objective will elude us, because we will be too weak to use peaceful means to force through real reforms and see to their realization. In addition, we have not forced our candidates onto anyone anywhere. Those who get into the Sejm and the Senate must not only be familiar with local problems, but with the problems of the country as a whole. If this does not happen, then we will lose out, and in some voivodships there is a shortage of such people, although there are excellent local activists. That is why we proposed candidates from outside, experienced people, and local people will be put forward later, during local council elections. This will give them a chance to get training in politics, and if they turn out to be good, we will choose our deputies and senators for the next term of office from among them. Specific people were mentioned in many places. For example, Zamoszcz "grabbed" Henryk Wujec for itself at the outset, and there is surely no need to explain to anyone what a great man he is. However, at a distance, it may seem that Henryk, who has lived and worked in Warsaw for years, has been forced onto them. Am I not right? I would not deny that the situation is complicated, but, for the time being, as there is no other credible social force apart from the union, we are going to enter parliament as a bloc that has Solidarity's backing.

[Niezabitowska] As well as Lech Walesa's backing. You are a symbol for the union's continuity, a symbol in Poland and you have great authority abroad, you have been showered with awards, and you are the most famous Pole next to the pope. There is no doubt that you merit the leadership, but does this mean that everything that happens in Solidarity should revolve around you? Outside the union, yours is the only name and picture that is seen, only your words are heard. All the rest, although they are sometimes given some publicity, seem to be overshadowed, to be somewhere in the background. Is this not something of a "personality" cult, a petty dictatorship?

[Walesa] Aha! You think that I am a dictator. I sensed that at the outset. However, I will have to disappoint you. I am not one, and I do not want to become one. However, the question is whether you can guide a ship through stormy waters completely democratically?

[Niezabitowska] It is impossible to steer a ship completely democratically even in a calm sea, but is the comparison of a social movement to a ship valid?

[Walesa] For the present, I think yes. The ship's rudder, in a metaphorical sense, is held by the captain who is assisted by his officers, junior officers, and seamen. It is a complicated organism in which everybody has to play their designated part in order that the ship can sail on. I too am surrounded by activists and advisors, and by the rank and file membership who are a little further away. The union has, after all, the shape of a pine tree. But this great union structure is still in a state of flux and still uncertain. Let all the branches grow back again, let us choose people democratically from top to bottom, then Solidarity will be led in such a democratic fashion that other people will be able to learn from us. But at present, it is true that I demand a certain confidence and expect certain trust from people. Have I not earned the right to these things, in the course of the last 20 years? This, however, is not a type of dictatorship, but a concerted implementation of postulates, for which one needs discipline.

[Niezabitowska] That is true, you led the union through a time when nobody believed anymore in its resurgence, at a time when in Polish and foreign eyes Solidarity was considered a venerable object consigned to the museum of Polish martydom. In May last year, however, you went to the striking shipyard and decided to stand at the head of the few striking workers, workers that the nation did not want to support....

[Walesa] You were criticizing me a few moments ago and now you are praising me again.

[Niezabitowska] I do one and the other for the same reason, that is, I have high regard for you. This does not mean that I do not have my doubts.

[Walesa] Absolutely correct. Please feel free to control me, do not take anything for granted, and bring me down to earth if I should try to soar too high, but if you entrust me with a task then please let me complete it. I want to keep my word, but sometimes it becomes very hard to do so. Further, and this is no empty joke, when I have accomplished what I have set out to do, I shall gladly step aside for younger people. The quicker this happens the better, for believe me, I do not get any pleasure from all this. When people see me on television, then for a very short time everything appears beautiful, interesting, colorful, but in reality it is extremely tiring work, if one wishes, like I do, to do a thorough job. You have decided to spend the whole day with me today, and you can see for yourself what a hard time of it the chairman has. Please write about that.

[Niezabitowska] I will do so, but let us return first to the subject of "Solidarity." In your biography, where you describe the situation in which the social forces found themselves after August, you wrote the following: "Above, there was a bright, pure flame, a visible sign, legible from afar—the idea." That idea of Solidarity was indeed a guiding star for all people. Though below, closer to the furnace, everything was in flux, that star guided us. Today everything is different. Of course Solidarity as a kind of symbol still exists, but its original, bright shape has faded and is less visible, and people still need the pure idea.

[Walesa] We shall not have a pure idea. We must finally accept that if the union is to be open to all, something which we all want, and it accepts people from the left or the right, as well as Catholics, then it will not have, nor can it have, any specific profile, because it will not be communist, Christian, or social democratic.

[Niezabitowska] But even in the midst of this multiplicity the union must have some sort of central identity.

[Walesa] In our actions we are guided, after all, by certain ethical principals. Our struggle is peaceful and without the use of force. This principle stems from Christianity, because we stem from Christianity. But in practice, I have have repeated over the years that Solidarity stands for reform. This reform was interpreted differently at various times, but its fundamental and final aim is democracy. We are closer to this aim than we have been at any time before. Nevertheless, the road before us is still long. If we are talking of a trade union, and taking into account its present composition, we cannot expect it to have a single identity in the future. There are many groups within Solidarity and they all have different ideologies, which very often are diametrically opposite to each other. Thus, we will not be able to have a single profile, but if we show that we are capable of solving problems, then later, through such concrete and joint activity, we will be able to define our identity.

[Niezabitowska] What do you fear most in this new stage of the union's activity?

[Walesa] I am concerned that we could step onto the road of ever increasing demands and strike brawls, which would be a spiral of self-destruction.

[Niezabitowska] There is no doubt that this danger exists, especially in a situation in which the National Trade Union Confederation is clearly preparing to do battle for workplace influence and authority. As the crisis grows deeper, it is easier to do what they are doing, that is, defending group interests, than to try to curb demands for the sake of a better future, which is what we are seeking to do.

[Walesa] I am a Pole first and a trade unionist second, and I believe that many union members feel and think the same way. This also explains why I would like the rest of the world to help Poland, but not by providing more loans, which would shore up old mistakes, but by relaxing the debt stranglehold, or by way of various economic initiatives, joint ventures, or investment. It is normal for a trade union to make demands, but the point is that the situation in our country is not normal. So if Solidarity starts making demands first and foremost—whether it does so at its own initiative or is provoked into doing so—the result will be that all reforms will be wrecked and then a civil war could erupt. I repeat that these are not normal times, but a period of transition, and that is why we are applying stopgap measures, such as indexation, which does not help the economy, but protects people against complete poverty.

[Niezabitowska] You frequently say that this is a transition period in which one system is coming apart and a new one has not emerged yet. What do you mean?

[Walesa] I mean that the period that was subjected to thorough criticism at the Roundtable is over. The old political and economic system has been effectively called into question by accords that have smashed the monopoly principle. However, although the monopoly principle has been smashed, this does not mean that we have got pluralism straightaway. The economy still does not work, the associations' movement is weak, political parties are only beginning to emerge, and we still do not have the new Sejm and Senate. So we are at the beginning of something that is going to develop dynamically, but we are undoubtedly going to run into obstacles that will exist on both sides, although they will be of a different kind.

[Niezabitowska] What is this new system going to look like?

[Walesa] You keep pressing me for specifics, but one cannot provide detailed descriptions of everything. Precise forms will emerge in actual practice. We cannot plan everything. Besides, we would not want to do that. We have already had those great architects who planned every detail of the wonderful new world. We know what results that produced; we have got painful first-hand experience of them. So we can only hope that our system, which we must build by ourselves, often starting with the basics, will be democratic in every respect.

[Niezabitowska] Do you not think that this transitional period in which we find ourselves is dangerous?

[Walesa] I would even say very dangerous. That is why we have to be as prudent as possible, make tough demands on ourselves and on others, and work hard.

[Niezabitowska] However, people are tired and apathetic. They have been cheated and disappointed on so many occasions in the past. Now more effort, more sacrifices, and more energy and vigor are being expected of them. What guarantees are there that this time around things will be a success?

[Walesa] You want me to provide guarantees? In the 19th century, when there was no Poland on the map, did those who fought with swords and plowshares enjoy any guarantees? Did those who staged the Warsaw Uprising wait for someone to guarantee them victory? Was that the case with the teachers who taught our parents in secret and who, at the time of the greatest national defeat, prepared detailed plans for the reconstruction of the cities that were destroyed? There are no guarantees today, but there is the opportunity that we fought for, and there is a risk. At most, we can become guarantors for this opportunity if we use it. I understand everything that you have said. People are tired, life is difficult and unbearable at times, but, I repeat, we have got a historic chance, and the side that is better organized will win. However, most people are waiting on the sidelines to see what kind of Poland we, although there are not that many of us at present, are going to create. So when I take a look at of all this, I think to myself that one day, when I end up seeking asylum somewhere in the Soviet Union, I will say to people: "I invited you, asked you, and begged you to take Poland into your own hands. However, you preferred to wait on the sidelines and now you have the Poland that you deserve."

[Niezabitowska] These are harsh words, and although I agree with them, perhaps we could end on a more optimistic note?

[Walesa] I would be pleased to, because I am an optimist, and I think that is why I sometimes manage to succeed. Now, despite everything, I also firmly believe that Poles will wake up and that they will show the entire world and show themselves, above all, that they will not allow themselves to be crushed, that they will not allow themselves to rot. I believe that we can afford independence from the bottom of my heart.

## Solidarity Wants Accelerated Reform, Not Power

*AU1806131689 Paris AFP in English*
*2132 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 17 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said Saturday that the independent union wanted to accelerate reforms in Poland, not take power, as feared by some party and government officials.

Mr. Walesa's comments, to a Solidarity national executive committee (KKW) meeting in the northern port city of Gdansk, followed doubts raised Thursday by Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski about Solidarity's future intentions. But Mr. Walesa said Saturday that Solidarity was first and foremost a movement in support of accelerating economic and political reforms, and "has no intention of replacing the authorities...even less of fighting them".

Solidarity would remain a trade union body looking after workers' affairs, while politics would be the responsibility of the new parliament. Solidarity-led opposition candidates swept to victory on June 4, in the first round of partially-open legislative elections, winning 92 of 100 senate seats, and 160 of 161 seats it could contest for the 460-member lower assembly.

Mr. Walesa emphasised that the union "has no intention of letting itself be caught up in the management of affairs" by accepting government "portfolios", so as not to "lose the confidence" of Polish electors. He said he hoped Solidarity's electoral success would "accelerate" economic and political reforms, warning that the situation in Poland could take a turn for the worse if it did not, the sources said.

At its meeting Saturday, the KKW dissolved regional level "Solidarity Civic Committees", which helped organise the opposition's electoral campaign, but decided to keep them at a district level. The committee also condemned the authorities for failing to legalise the Independent Students Association (NZS).

## Council Election Law Amendment Criticized

*LD1606211589 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2038 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—The State Election Commission held discussions today chaired by Prof. Alfons Klafkowski on the state of preparations for the second round of elections.

The commission was briefed on the public statement of several of its members made in connection with the issuance by the Council of State of a decree on changing the electoral law. "We received news of the most recent amendment to the electoral law with deep concern. An amendment of the electoral law by decree of the Council of State while the elections are under way constitutes, irrespectively of the contents of this change, a dangerous precedent, contradicting the basic principles of legislation. If state reasons have not permitted to leave the matter of complementing the composition of the Sejm to the new parliament, the date of the second round of elections should however have been put off so as not to make the electoral timetable complete fiction and give the new candidates an opportunity to present themselves to the voters and the latter to make a wise choice. Only an awareness of the dramatic consequences which this step could entail stops us from resigning."

The statement was signed by the representatives of the citizen's committee of "Solidarity" in the State Electoral Commission: Anatol Lawina, Zofia Wasilkowska, Janina Zakrezewska and Andrzej Zoll. It was pointed out that Piotr Andrzejewski was abroad.

It was also announced that the Council of State received a letter from Jerzy Ciemniewski in which he tendered his resignation as a member of the State Electoral Commission. The reason for the resignation is the amendment, made during the ongoing electoral procedures, of regulations of the electoral law. This ignores the will of a majority of citizens expressed in the voting and leads to the annulment of a part of the findings made by the state electoral commission in a correct procedure, the letter reads.

Referring to the statement and announcement, the chairman of the State Electoral Commission pointed out that the commission did not have powers to review them as it was set up to supervise abidance by regulations of the electoral law. In Prof. Klafkowski's view the decree of the Council of State could be evaluated from the political angle but from the point of view of the law it was in line with the constitution. [sentence as received]

## Leaders' Public Appearances for 6-12 Jun

*AU1606184789*

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 6 through 13 June reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number given in parentheses):

Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR Politburo member, received Roman Czyzycki, the new Polish ambassador to Egypt, in Warsaw on 9 June. (10-11 Jun 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and deputy chairman of the PPR State Council, received outgoing Cambodian ambassador Hor Nam Hong at the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw on 8 June. (9 Jun 89 p 2) He received Roman Czyzycki, the new Polish ambassador to Egypt, in Warsaw on 9 June. (10-11 Jun 89 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met ambassadors and diplomats accredited in Warsaw to discuss the elections on 9 June. (10-11 Jun 89 p 2)

Czeslaw Kiszczak, PZPR Politburo member and minister of internal affairs, received a decoration from Jerzy Slowinski, president of "LOT" Polish Airlines, in Warsaw on 12 June. (13 Jun 89 p 2)

Iwona Lubowska, PZPR Politburo member, attended anniversary celebrations at the Lodz Polytechnic campus in Bielsko-Biala on 10 June. (12 Jun 89 p 2)

Tadeusz Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs, received outgoing Cambodian ambassador Hor Nam Hong in Warsaw on 8 June. (9 Jun 89 p 2)

### Hungary's 'Anti-Romanian' Events Protested

*AU1806125889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0843 GMT 18 Jun 89*

["Related to Grave Anti-Socialist, Revisionist and Anti-Romanian Manifestations Held in Budapest"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/6/1989—Romania's newspapers, radio and television stations have received many letters and phone calls from various Romanian citizens, inclusive of Romanian citizens of Magyar origin, who expressed their profound indignation at the revisionist, irredentist and anti-communist manifestations held in Budapest on the occasion of the June 16 reburial of some Hungarian citizens, which turned into a manifestation clearly fascist, antisocialist in nature, aimed against the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, against socialism and communism and the Warsaw Treaty.

This is a very dangerous manifestation running counter to the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, running counter to the interests of peace and security in Europe, to the very interests of peace and quiet of the Hungarian people, which through its seriousness exceeds the manifestations held during Horthy's regime.

It is particularly grave that the Magyar reactionary circles took this opportunity to organize open manifestations of an anti-Romanian nature, with the participation of declassee, legionary and fascist elements who found shelter and asylum in Hungary or came from other countries.

In their letters the citizens rightly ask the Romanian Government to take a firm stand and protest and reject with greatest indignation all these manifestations which flagrantly run counter to to the Romanian-Hungarian Treaty of Friendship and Collaboration and to the norms of relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic, between the Romanian and the Hungarian people.

### Government 'Official Protest'

*AU1806130189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0923 GMT 18 Jun 89*

["From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/6/1989—Saturday, June 17, Ambassador Pal Szuts of the Hungarian People's Republic was called at the management of Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and conveyed the official protest addressed by the Romanian Government to the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic in relation to the anti-socialist, anti-Romanian, national-chauvinistic and revisionist manifestations held in Budapest on June 16.

At the same time the heads of diplomatic mission of certain countries were received at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, being informed in relation to the Romanian stand and the official protest addressed by the Romanian Government to the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic related to the hostile manifestations in Budapest.

### More Protests of 'Provocations'

*AU1806163589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1601 GMT 18 Jun 89*

["Numerous Meetings of Working People Voice the Romanian People's Indignation at the Recent Anti-Socialist, Revisionist and Anti-Romanian Provocations in Budapest"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/6/1989—Numerous meetings of the working people were held in Romania on Sunday, during which workers, engineers, foremen, technicians, cooperative farmers and mechanics joined to condemn firmly the grave anti-socialist, revisionist and anti-Romanian manifestations held in Budapest on June 16, on the occasion of the reburial of some former Hungarian politicians.

Such meetings were held at numerous industrial units in Bucharest as well as at industrial and agricultural units in counties Arad, Bihor, Cluj, Maramures, Satu Mare and Salaj.

The participants in the meetings insisted on expressing their profound indignation and firmly rejected these dangerous manifestations which turned into a political action clearly fascist, irredentist in nature, aimed against the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, against socialism and communism and the Warsaw Treaty.

The recent events in neighbour Hungary, participants said during the meetings thus reverberating the opinion shared by all the well-meaning people, prove that the lessons taught by history have been forgotten or even ignored deliberately. Setting out from this, the participants in the meetings expressed concern over the revival of the reactionary, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces in that country which, encouraged and supported from abroad, and tolerated from inside through a policy of concessions and abdication, incite to hatred and violence and hostile acts which flagrantly run counter to the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, to the cause of peace and security in Europe, to the very interests of the Hungarian people.

Legitimate indignation was stirred by the particularly grave fact that a number of Magyar reactionary circles have taken this opportunity to stage a new anti-Romanian provocation organized with the participation of some declasse, legionary and fascist elements that found shelter and asylum in Hungary or came from Western countries, treacherous elements serving foreign services which are hostile to Romania.

During the meetings the participants showed clearly and firmly that they approved entirely and supported the official protest addressed by the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic in relation to what happened in Budapest late last week.

On behalf of the collectives where they work, all those having participated in the meetings insisted that work should be done to halt these provocative actions which present disparagingly the policy of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the Romanian state, the great changes manifest throughout Romania's economic and social life, representing an unacceptable interference in the domestic affairs of Romania, a gross trespassing of national sovereignty. In clear words the speakers stressed the Romanian people not to have allowed and never to allow anybody, and therefore much less the impostors supported by various foreign services, to interfere with affairs which are its own, in questions regarding its life and work. The meetings set forth the conviction of all the participants that it is in the benefit of Romania and Hungary to end all actions which contribute to mounting tension and the state of suspicion, to the exacerbation of the nationalistic feelings, of chauvinism, and that everything must be done so that the Romanian-Hungarian relations may return to the normal path of confidence and good neighbourliness and active collaboration, in a spirit of mutual esteem and respect, for the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the general cause of socialism and peace.

### Radio Coverage of Protests

*AU1806191389*

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1700 GMT on 18 June carries six short reports with recorded portions—ranging between 4 and 6 minutes long and totaling some 35 minutes—on various working people's meetings held today in economic units from Bucharest and from several Transylvanian counties to "protest the serious anti-socialist, revisionist, and anti-Romanian manifestations that took place in Budapest on 16 June, during the reburial of some former Hungarian citizens." The reports are on meetings from the following units: the Vulcan Enterprise, the Garment Enterprise, and the Grivita Rosie Chemical Plant, all from Bucharest; the Arad Railroad Car Factory, Arad County; the agricultural production cooperative of Biharia commune, Bihor County; and the Baia Mare Nonferrous Metals Enterprise, Maramures County.

The introduction to these features mentions that the meetings were addressed by "all categories of employees," who "expressed unanimous indignation" and "strongly condemned" the recent events in Hungary, while "fully endorsing" Romania's domestic and foreign policy as fashioned by "our brilliant party-state leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu." The features themselves follow the same pattern: Various people address the meetings, including "Romanians of Hungarian extraction," after which a telegram to Ceausescu is adopted, in which the participants express their "patriotic pride in Romania's achievements" and "complete adherence" to the country's policies. Using the same terminology as that of the official releases on the subject the speakers—which include the manager, the trade union chief, and the youth official, as well as engineers, technicians, and workers of the given enterprise—express "deep concern over the revival of reactionary, anti-socialist, and counterrevolutionary forces in Hungary" and "protest and condemn chauvinistic anti-Romanian acts," such as the 16 June manifestations in Budapest, which "run counter to the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and the Romanian-Hungarian Treaty of Friendship." They highlight the fact that Romania has fully repaid its foreign debt and mention "other great achievements" which "are not to the liking of some foreign reactionary circles," who hire "traitors, Iron-Guardist and fascist elements that have found asylum in Hungary" to engage in "anti-Romanian provocations." In conclusion, the speakers demand that "Hungarian authorities should put an end to these hostile manifestations," so that "Romanian-Hungarian relations may return to their normal course of cooperation and good-neighborliness."

## Political Executive Committee Meets 16 Jun

### Central Committee To Convene

*AU1606163689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1612 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/06/89—The Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee [CC] of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] decided in its June 16 meeting in Bucharest presided over by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the convening of the Central Committee of the party on June 27-28, 1989.

### PEC Discusses Documents

*AU1606190689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1758 GMT 16 Jun 89*

["Executive Political Committee of CC of RCP Passes Documents for the 14th Party Congress"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/06/1989—Meeting on June 16 under the chairmanship of party general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee [CC] of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] looked into and passed the draft guideline programme of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party on Romania's economic and social development over the 1991-1995 interval and the future guidelines until the years 2000-2010. Also analysed and passed were the draft theses for the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party on the development of the Romanian society, improvements in the management of the economic and social life, the development of the workers' revolutionary democracy, the growing role of the Romanian Communist Party and the ideological, politicoeducative activity, the enhancement of the standard of scientific knowledge, and culture and of the revolutionary consciousness, the ratio of forces and the fundamental characteristics of the international situation.

The Executive Political Committee decided that these documents should be presented for debate and approval by the plenary meeting of the party Central Committee.

During the same meeting proposals were passed concerning the calling of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

### Ceausescu Chairs PEC Meeting

*AU1606202689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1828 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/06/1989—On June 16 a meeting of the Central Committee [CC] of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] was held under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

Participating in the meeting were also members of the commissions set up to prepare the documents of the 14th congress of the party: the commission on organizing the proceedings of the congress, the commission on working out the guideline-programme, the commission on working out the theses of the congress.

During the meeting participants debated questions related to the preparation and calling of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

The Executive Political Committee looked into and passed the draft guideline-programme of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party on Romania's economic and social development over 1991-1995 and the guidelines until the years 2000-2010. Also analysed and passed were the draft theses for the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party on the development of the Romanian society, the improvement of the economic and social management, the development of the workers'-revolutionary democracy, the growing role of the Romanian Communist Party and the ideological, political and educative activity, the enhancement of the standard of scientific and cultural knowledge, and of the revolutionary consciousness, the ratio of forces and the fundamental characteristics of the international situation.

The Executive Political Committee appreciated highly the decisive contribution made by Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu to the ample effort to work out and substantiate these programme-like documents which, setting out from the current stage of the Romanian society, from the objective needs of future development and of consistently applying the principles of scientific socialism to the concrete circumstances and facts of Romania, establish the basic orientations and the guidelines for the country's development over the next five-year plan period and further, in the years 2000-2010, with a view to its passing to a new, superior stage, that of a multilaterally-developed socialist country.

The Executive Political Committee decided that the draft guideline-programme and the draft theses of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, with the improvements made during the meeting, should be sent for debate and approval by the plenary meeting of the party Central Committee.

Next, the Executive Political Committee passed the proposals regarding the calling of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, which are also to be submitted for debate by the plenary meeting of the party Central Committee.

Then the Executive Political Committee looked into and passed the report of the Inquiry Commission which controls the way in which the bank for agriculture and the food industry applied and observed the legal provisions concerning credits and money advances granted to some producer cooperative farms and intercooperative economic associations over 1986-1988.

The Executive Political Committee passed the measures proposed with a view to enhancing responsibility in point of applying the legal provisions concerning granting and using credits and money advances, as well as to improving the economic and financial activity of the cooperative agricultural units and the financial control exerted by the state.

The relevant bodies were asked to work most firmly in the spirit of the measures set with a view to a strict observance of the party decisions and of the country's laws regarding granting credits and money advances, in order to eradicate the negative states of affairs and dramatically improve activity in the field and enhance profitability and economic efficiency.

The Executive Political Committee next passed the report on diminishing the personnel of the state and party apparatus and of the mass organizations and endorsed certain measures to improve organizational structures and use better the personnel in these domains.

It was considered that applying the measures established would provide a general improvement of activity and enhance the responsibility of all the party and state cadres in organizing and managing the entire activity concerning Romania's economic and social development.

During the meeting President Nicolae Ceausescu informed the attendance of some findings and conclusions resulting from the recent visits paid to and analyses made at farm units in various counties around the country. The RCP general secretary noted that crop is generally fine at most of the units visited, this creating conditions for big harvests this year equally in point of barley and wheat and other cultures such as sunflower, maize, beets, potatoes, vegetables and fruit. He asked for work to be continued with a view to strengthening responsibility, order and discipline at all the agricultural units, in order to provide all the conditions to turn out the vegetal and animal outputs provided for, in all the counties and at all the farms, according to the plan and to the demands of the new agrarian revolution.

The Executive Political Committee debated certain questions of the current international life and of the contemporary communist and workers' movement.

The Executive Political Committee decided that the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party should be called on June 27 and 28, this year.

## State Agriculture Department Head Replaced

*AU1706133389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0800 GMT 17 Jun 89*

["For the Record"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/6/1989—Under a presidential decree Florea Gruia minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Agriculture and head of the State Agriculture Department was released from office and Viorel Vizureanu was appointed instead.

## Soviet Economic Projects Participation Viewed

*AU1706150789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1226 GMT 17 Jun 89*

["In the Spirit of a Productive Romanian-Soviet Cooperation"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/6/1989—Only a few kilometers from the old settlement of Antiochia Margiana that lies in the heart of the sunny Soviet Turkmenia, a new town is being built that complies with the rigours of modern planning, a feature report in "SCINTEIA" of 17 June shows. This town is not on the map yet. For the time being it has only a few hundred flats. The new town is being built from its foundations by approximately 1,500 Romanian workers with the construction-assembly enterprise "ARCOM." Having to overcome unfavourable weather conditions, the Romanians put passion and skillfulness in their work. The collaboration with Romanian specialists and workers is our good luck, says Engineer Gennadiy Kryuchkov, director of the Soviet partner enterprise. The Romanians have more than fulfilled our expectations as regards both the rhythm of work and its quality. Their solutions have proved their great experience, he also said. Therefore, a solid reputation that the "ARCOM" workers have earned, an open recognition of their technical potential in less than three years in which their activities have increased sixfold in terms of volume.

The first residential district with one and three-floor blocks of flats has been fully developed. It has kindergartens, a school, a shopping centre. The Romanian constructors are completing a second one, which is a perfect replica of the first. Homes are being built, streets are being laid out, water reservoirs and thermal stations are being made. Work has started on a 150-bed hospital and to a palace of sports and culture.

The town that is born in the Karakum desert is part of a bigger plan to develop huge natural gas deposits. A few kilometers away, at Sovietabad, other Romanian constructors, with the ROMPETROL company this time, work on a complex gas processing plant that will supply energy to Turkmenia. It is in this town that oilmen and their families will live. In this way an important cooperation venture between Romania and the Soviet Union is achieved, the newspaper shows.

Romania is a partner also to other joint undertakings on Soviet territory: at Krivoy Rog, to ensure long-term deliveries of iron ore; at Ust Ilinsk, for pulp; at the south Ukraine power station, for electricity; at Orenburg, for natural gas. A good number of agreements and understandings on cooperation and production specialization in machine-building, the aviation, chemical and petrochemical industries were signed by the two countries which take action for a substantial growth of their trade and economic cooperation on mutually advantageous terms.

## Mueckenberger-Led SED Delegation on Visit

### Received by Ceausescu

*AU1606191989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1817 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/6/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of Romania, received on Friday, June 16 Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee [CC] of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], chairman of the party's Central Control Commission, who visits Romania at the head of a delegation at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed on the occasion heartiest regards from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC of the SUPG, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed to Erich Honecker his salute and best wishes of good health and success.

Emphasis was placed during the interview on the close relations of friendship and multilateral collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples that, in the spirit of the summit talks and understandings develop continuously. The confidence was expressed that the further strengthening of the bilateral collaboration, especially in the economic, technological, scientific, cultural and other domains was in the interests of the Romanian people and of the GDR people, of the cause of socialism, peace and cooperation in Europe and the world over.

During the meeting, it was stressed that the two parties and countries had the same stand on the socialist construction as well as on the fundamental issues of international life, which provides conditions for the development of fine and fertile collaboration both on a bilateral and international plane.

The interview was attended by Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Party Collegium.

### Activities Summarized

*AU1706150889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1302 GMT 17 Jun 89*

["Visit by Central Control Commission of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/6/1989—July 13 through 17 a delegation of the Central Control Commission of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany headed by Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Political Bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], commission chairman, visited Romania invited by the CC of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party].

The guests conducted talks with Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Party College. At the same time the members of the delegation met and talked with members of Bucharest Municipal RCP Committee and Constanta County Party Committee, visited industrial and farm enterprises, as well as social and cultural units in Bucharest and in Constanta County, learning of the activity carried out by the party bodies and organizations and of the Romanian people's achievements prior to the 45th celebration of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation and to the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

### Dobrin Meets Turkish Premier Turgut Ozal

*AU1706133489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0859 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Ankara AGERPRES, 17/6/1989—A message of greetings from Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] was conveyed to the leader of the Motherland Party and prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, Turgut Ozal, along with good wishes of progress and prosperity to the friendly Turkish people.

Turgut Ozal thanked for the message and sent President Nicolae Ceausescu his greetings together with his best wishes of health and happiness, as well as wishes of prosperity and progress for the Romanian people.

Turgut Ozal thanked for the message and sent President Nicolae Ceausescu his greetings together with his best wishes of health and happiness, as well as wishes of prosperity and progress for the Romanian people.

The messages were exchanged when Turgut Ozal, leader of the Motherland Party and prime minister of the Republic of Turkey received a Socialist Democracy and Unity Front delegation led by Tamara Dobrin, chairwoman of the Executive Bureau of the SDUF National Council, who visit Turkey upon an invitation of the Motherland Party.

The growing course of the Romanian-Turkish many-sided relations was underscored during the meeting as well as the decisive role of the Romanian-Turkish summitry in promoting cooperation between Romania and Turkey.

### Solidarity With RSA People's Struggle Noted

*AU1606201689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1737 GMT 16 Jun 89*

["The Romanian People's Militant Solidarity With the Just Fight of Peoples in Southern Africa"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/06/1989—The international day of solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa—the Soweto Day—is a fine opportunity to reiterate Romania's active support to the majority population in the Republic of South Africa in its resolute fight against racial domination, for liberty and democracy, for legitimate rights in its own country. Romania has firmly condemned the apartheid and racial discrimination policies, by actively backing the fight of the African National Congress [ANC]—the legitimate representative of the majority population, of other national liberation movements for the eradication of the last vestiges of colonialism. Such a position has found an expression in numerous documents of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and Romanian state, in Romania's activity at the United Nations and in other international forums, restated during President Nicolae Ceausescu's numberless meetings with leaders of the African Liberation movements, with ANC President Oliver Tambo included.

The Romanian people's solidarity with the national liberation movements has taken on various forms like visits on exchanges of experience, and participation in international meetings of mutual interest, in the actions of mass, trade unions, youth and women organizations. The support the Romanian people granted to the national liberation movements also materialized in the training of personnel for various sectors of the economic and social life, in the promotion of literacy and culturalization, in health care. The large number of scholarships granted to youths from national liberation movements, the sending of professors and other specialists to the countries that have won their national independence express the Romanian people's concern to help, in a concrete way, the peoples struggling for the consolidation of national independence.

Diplomatic support in all circumstances and events of an international character are a constant of Romania's actions in favour of national liberation movements, of the peoples fighting for the abolition of colonial domination. In Romania's official assembly sessions, within international organizations and meetings, Romania has shown its militant solidarity with the national liberation fight and the consolidation of the young states' independence, taking initiative or backing the numerous resolutions apt to institute and provide a generally acceptable framework for the fulfilment of the aspirations for freedom of the peoples still under colonial domination.

Romania actively contributed to the adoption of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, a document which proclaimed the definite and complete abolition of colonialism in all its forms of manifestation. Noteworthy is the Romanian delegation's contribution to the preparations for the plan of action for full implementation of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, to the elaboration of the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, to the preparation of the decade for action to combat racism and racial discrimination, to the adoption of other important documents on the elimination of colonialism and neocolonialism, of any kind of domination and oppression.

Along with the progressive opinion throughout the world, the Romanian people expresses its belief that the fight of the majority coloured population in the Republic of South Africa for the attainment of its aspirations after freedom and progress will be soon fulfilled.

## Leaders' Public Appearances for 10-16 Jun

*AU1706151189*

[Editorial Report] Bucharest AGERPRES in English reports the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 10-16 June period (time and date of each report given in parentheses):

Manea Manescu, member of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and vice president of the State Council; Gheorghe Oprea, PEC member and first deputy prime minister of the government; Ion Totu, candidate PEC member and minister of foreign affairs; and Barbu Petrescu, mayor of Bucharest, laid wreath at national poet Mihai Eminescu's tomb, in Bucharest on 15 June. (1422 GMT 15 Jun 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu visited agricultural units in southern counties, on 11 June (1745 GMT 11 Jun 89); on 14 June, Ceausescu continued his visit to agricultural units in southern counties (1748 GMT 14 Jun 89); on 15 June, Ceausescu visited more agricultural farms in southern counties (1747 GMT 15 Jun 89); on 16 June, President Nicolae Ceausescu received Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, (1817 GMT 16 Jun 89) and chaired a meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee. (1828 GMT 16 Jun 89)

Lina Ciobanu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and deputy prime minister of the government, met with Cuban leader Fidel Castro Ruz, in Havana on 16 June. (1803 GMT 16 Jun 89)

Miu Dobrescu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions, met with CPSU Politburo member V.A. Medvedev, in Moscow on 10 June (1011 GMT 10 Jun 89); on 12 June, he visited Ulaanbaatar and met with Mongolian leader Jambyn Batmonh. (1718 GMT 12 Jun 89)

## Loncar Visits Washington, Talks With Leaders

### Meets U.S. Congressmen

*LD1606222789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2051 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Washington, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs, met today in Washington with prominent U.S. congressmen and in separate meetings had talks on the state of relations between Yugoslavia and the United States, mutual cooperation, and the international situation.

Loncar had talks with Dante Fascell, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives; Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Joseph Biden, chairman of the subcommittee for Europe in the Senate; and Senator Mark Hatfield.

Everyone with whom Loncar spoke was interested in the situation in Yugoslavia and the current reforms in our country.

They showed an interest in, and Loncar spoke about the present circumstances in our country, the orientation toward reform and especially the program of the new government.

Showing interest in the current reforms, the U.S. congressmen were also interested in the state of intranational relations in Yugoslavia, especially in Kosovo.

Loncar said Yugoslavia expects that the attitude of the United States to this question is guided by the same point of view as the United States has previously expressed, supporting the independence, territorial integrity, and democratic development of Yugoslavia.

The federal secretary for foreign afairs noted that the resolutions being launched in the U.S. Congress in connection with Kosovo could have the opposite effect to the one contained in the previously mentioned points of departure of U.S. policy toward Yugoslavia.

Stressing that there can be no division between the situation in Kosovo and democratic development, Loncar noted that there can also be no division between territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Yugosalvia and its democratic transformations.

Broader international topics were also touched on, and among other things there was agreement that the world has entered a qualitatively new phase of international relations, with optimistic expectations for further development.

The U.S. congressmen, it is stressed, expressed the view that the world is today faced with more stable development, which will intensify the dialogue between the blocs, but which will also extend to other international factors. In this context there was also discussion of the policy of nonalignment.

The congressmen assessed that the arrival of the federal secretary for foreign affairs in Washington for talks and dialogue after the advent of the new U.S. Administration and the formation of a new government in Yugoslavia was very much desired.

### TANJUG on Baker-Loncar Talks

*LD1606035989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0218 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Washington, June 15 (TANJUG)—Relations between the United States and Yugoslavia are friendly and stable, United States Secretary of State James Baker and Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar assessed in Washington today. They also underscored the need for further and wider cooperation between the two countries.

As underscored, Baker and Loncar exchanged views both on bilateral relations and major international questions.

Loncar presented the current focus of Yugoslavia's attention, especially the government's economic program and the resulting priorities regarding relations between Yugoslavia and foreign countries, including also further arrangements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the Paris Club.

Baker was especially interested in the economic reform and market orientation in Yugoslavia and, in that context, the development of political pluralism. As learned, Baker gave a positive assessment of the Yugoslav government's program and expressed the readiness of Washington to support that program.

Loncar, speaking about the situation in Kosovo, expressed dissatisfaction with, and pointed out the harmfulness of the initiative in American Congress to adopt a resolution on Kosovo—he described it as harmful both to the mutual relations between the two countries and to the consolidation of the situation in this Yugoslav autonomous province.

Loncar and Baker concluded that there was progress in the economic, cultural, scientific-technical and military cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United States, and gave a positive assessment of the current situation in the battle against international terrorism and drugs, and in the area of environmental protection.

Baker and Loncar also exchanged views about the latest development of global relations, especially in the light of East-West relations. Among other things, Loncar gave a positive assessment of the latest initiative by President George Bush to reduce conventional arms and troops in Europe.

Baker was very interested in the announced modernization of the Nonaligned Movement, the outcome of the Ninth Non-aligned Summit in Belgrade, and the activities of the "Group of 7." The American secretary of state said he was confident that better understanding and cooperation between industrialized countries and developing countries might take place under the new conditions and changes expected in the movement.

Loncar today also met with advisor to the president for national security affairs Brent Scowcroft, who assessed that relations between the two countries were very good and stable, and emphasized that it was in the interest of the White House for Yugoslavia to be stable and to overcome its current difficulties.

## Markovic's Presence Influences Assembly Decision

*AU1706192889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "When Premier Arrives in Person"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 13 Jun— It seems that Ante Markovic's government will surmount the first obstacle that SFRY Assembly delegates have put in front of it. For whatever reason—because Markovic appeared at the session of the Committee for Socioeconomic Relations in person, or because of the new arguments the Federal Executive Council [FEC] presented—delegates of this SFRY Assembly body agreed that the Law on Accounting should nevertheless be adopted in an urgent procedure and in the form proposed by Ante Markovic.

The FEC president appeared at the committee's session around noon although Zivko Pregl, FEC vice president, and Branko Zekan, federal secretary for finances were already there. He did not speak, but only made several side remarks, however, it seems that his presence definitely influenced the delegates' decision on whether to accept the system of revaluation offered by the FEC or some other one which would be stricter and would involve more administrative measures. It was accepted that according to the Law on Accounting, obligatory revaluation should apply only to fixed assets and the enterprise's own capital and that all other revalorization is left to the dictates of the market. [passage omitted]

## Assembly Plans To Form Human Rights Commission

*AU1606092789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 89 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "New Commission for Human Rights"]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jun—The SFRY Assembly will found its own commission to monitor human rights. As we have unofficially learned, this should take place during the discussion on the "international aspects of human rights and the SFRY's activities" at a session of the Federal Chamber scheduled for tomorrow [15 June].

## Markovic Discusses Changing System 'Thoroughly'

*AU1606101989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jun 89 p 1*

[M. Malisic report: "Thorough Change of System"]

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jun—The way in which the hotels for the nonaligned summit are being constructed and the speed with which this is being done are typical of the modern way of conducting operations which the new Yugoslav Government is advocating. This is also the way to build up the new type of socialism that uses good experiences and knowledge which have proven their merits in practice, Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, said during his visit to the building site of the hotels Hyatt and Genex in New Belgrade and the talks he had with the members of the committee for the preparation of the ninth conference of nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

Today the builders promised that Belgrade will be ready to host the summit in September. Despite a delay in adopting the law on the tax exemptions for importing equipment for hotels and the law on floating debts, there is no delay in construction works. This work is being carried out day and night under the strict control of the investors. Hotel Hyatt is planned to be finished by the end of July and Hotel Genex by 15 August. The race to meet the deadlines is nearing its finish and thanks to good work organization there have been no financial difficulties. The consortium of Jugopetrol, Jugoexport, Putnik, Energoprojekt, and Rad organizations which entered this project with Hyatt has shown to be the right move.

Expressing his satisfaction with the fact that everything has been going according to the plan, Ante Markovic pointed out that this meant applying a real anti-inflatory measure.

The experience we, as well as other socialist countries, have had clearly shows that one should not try to amend the system but to change it thoroughly, Markovic said. Along with applying the market concept of business operations, we must also develop political democracy as part of the complete buildup of a modern state. We need a state which will not be patronizing, but will hold macroeconomic elements in its hands and protect all participants who will be in the same position.

The city assembly does not build hotels, Markovic went on to say, but it creates possibilities for the development of a modern economy. This is that new role of the administration that we have been advocating. The construction method which attaches preference to joint ventures is also a new concept of the market economy. Our mistake does not lie in the fact that we have borrowed, but in the way we have used these funds. It is necessary to evaluate our debt exactly and to try to repay it in time in order to prevent inflation.

Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade Assembly, and Milorad Unkovic, president of the Belgrade Executive Council, briefed Ante Markovic on all that has been built and done in order to make Belgrade a worldly metropolis with better connections with the world.

## Markovic, Austria's Vranitzky Meet in Slovenia

*AU1606190389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Dr Franz Vranitzky, chancellor of the Austrian Government, arrived today for a 1-day visit to our country. He had talks with Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, at Brdo, near Kranj. Dragoslav Kosaric has the details:

[Kosaric] After 2-hour talks behind closed doors, Chancellor Vranitzky assessed the talks on bilateral relations between the two countries as very fruitful, constructive, and substantial, and mentioned that Austria follows all political and economic changes in Yugoslavia very closely and with great interest. In his opinion, we must believe in the Yugoslav reforms for them to succeed and this is also in the interest of Europe. Chancellor Vranitzky also positively assessed the ratification of the agreement between the two countries against so-called commercial risks.

Vranitzky and Markovic also talked today about the construction of the Sentilj-Zagreb highway. Replying to the question from an Austrian colleague on whether the Austrian side will participate with 40 percent of the capital needed for the construction, Vranitzky did not say no and stressed that the plans will be supported when they are completed.

The bilateral talks also included the possibility of us joining the European Free Trade Association, and the situation in Kosovo.

In assessing today's talks, President Markovic supported Chancellor Vranitzky's assessments and stressed that the reforms in Yugoslavia have encompassed all spheres and all sections of our society. He repeated his stands on opening up Yugoslavia to the world, stressing that our market will depend on our penetrating the European and world markets.

Replying to a question on roads, Markovic said that Yugoslavia is willing to create all opportunities and facilities for capital investment in our infrastructure.

As I speak, joint celebrations marking the breakthrough of the tunnel through Karavanke are underway at the construction site on both sides. At 1600 [1500 GMT], Chancellor Vranitzky and government President Markovic will meet in the tunnel at the border between the two countries, symbolizing the traditionally good bilateral relations of the two countries. Celebrations marking this event will also be held in the tunnel at this time.

## Slovene Assembly Commission on Right To Secede

*LD1706174189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1723 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—The Socialist Republic of Slovenia is a part of the SFRY on the basis of the Slovene nation's comprehensive, lasting, and inalienable right to make its own decisions, which also includes the right to secede or join. This is the wording of one of the most significant amendments to the republican Constitution, adopted today by the Constitutional Commission of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. [passage omitted]

## Slovene Leader Speaks on Serbian 'Irrationality'

*LD1706202689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1832 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Ljubljana, June 17 (TANJUG)—Chief of the Slovenian Communists Milan Kucan today made it clear that Slovenia was not intending to revise its stands "to suit" Serbia whose leadership he blamed for using "irrationality, flinging mud at people and nations" to pave the "political grounds for events supposed to change Yugoslavia thoroughly," and thus he "cooled off" the two republics' relations still further.

The two republics of the Yugoslav federation openly departed from each other in their stands shortly after the state presidency of Serbia's recent telegram to the Slovenian leadership which understood it as the rejection of talks on Yugoslavia's common problems.

Kucan, speaking at an observance of the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and the 50th anniversary of the CPY consultation at Tacno near Ljubljana, announced that Slovenia would no longer offer talks to those who had rejected them.

Kucan, however, stated at today's observance, that "quarrels do not make up a way to coexist" and that Slovenia was still wanting talks with those willing so, but he also said that talks were redundant if one had to agree beforehand with the opinions of one's collocutors.

Let us not allow anybody, Kucan told a meeting of several thousand participants in the observance, "to keep proclaiming himself the defender of Yugoslavia and to wave the new constitution aggressively, while substituting a unitarian state for national equality."

To the charges that separatist tendencies existed in Slovenia, Kucan replied that also "unitarianist ideas with larger nations are in their contents very much separatist too."

Although Serbia was not mentioned here by name, it is common knowledge that this republic is larger in territory and number of inhabitants than any other.

Relations within the federation, as regulated by the 1974 Constitution, stand in the way only for those who are affected by the policy of national equality and this is why now they demand "more rights for themselves in the name of their special historical merits and their large numbers," said Kucan.

The fact is, however, that Serbia had until recently been Yugoslavia's only republic without state powers throughout its territory. It was only after the republic's 1974 Constitution was changed that its status became equal with those of the other republics, which in no way jeopardized the autonomy of (?its) provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo.

Kucan says that Slovenia is concerned about the future of the country and that unitarianism and centralism are Yugoslavia's most fateful (?developmental) delusions.

Slovenia, says Kucan, will not live within Yugoslavia in which it would be subjected to political or national supragovernment, economic exploitation and constrained forms of political life, but only in a country that will ensure sovereignty, and the right to self-determination and equality of all nations and nationalities.

Slovenia's reserves (?toward the) upcoming Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LC) and the posing of conditions for its participation in it, were explained by Kucan as its doubts that the LC is capable of acting as society's cohesive force.

Kucan said that the (?variances) in stands were substantial and "if we think to live together, then talks about them (differences) are now more necessary than ever."

The chief of Slovenian Communists appealed for more sense to be shown for democratic dialogues in Yugoslavia concerning the further talks towards reaching understanding.

Kucan said that democracy is the only path taking Yugoslavia to Europe and warranting that socialism will not end "in Tiananman Square."

A recent statement by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, saying that Yugoslavia will enter Europe as a collocutor on the footing of equality and not as "a lackey" was this time commented by Kucan thus: "Neither lackeys will enter Europe nor thunder-hurlers who delude themselves that the world can hardly wait for us to make it happy in our, Yugoslav way."

Participants in the meeting outside Ljubljana today also carried conclusions calling all members of the party in Yugoslavia to stop immediately the inter-republican and inter-national disputes.

One of the conclusions said that the LC of Slovenia would join in the Slovenia 1989 Charter, prepared by the Socialist Alliance of this republic which strives for democracy, the right to self-determination, sovereignty of the Slovenic people, and the federation of free and equal nations.

## Slovene Writers Protest to Yugoslav Federation

*AU1806151589 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene*
*10 Jun 89 p 3*

["Statement by the Slovene Writers About the Yugoslav Writers Federation"]

[Text] In the past year alone, in accordance with the Program and Statute of the Yugoslav Writers Federation [YWF], in accordance with the conclusions of the Writers Congress in Novi Sad, and in agreement with the resolutions of the YWF Presidium, the Slovene Writers Society [SWS], advocated, appealed for, or tried to initiate, for example:

A simultaneous translation into the languages of the Yugoslav literature at the annual meeting in Gevgelija; a condemnation of the staged trial of the four in Ljubljana and a protest against the use and misuse of the Serbian or Croatian language at the trial; a protection of human and civil rights and peace and coexistence of all people in Kosovo; a protest against the persecution of writers and intellectuals under Article 133 (or similar articles that have begun to replace that notorious article of the Criminal Code) all over Yugoslavia; arousing writers' and human conscience about the news of killings in Kosovo (that include children) and about the Stalinist pogroms against 215 Albanian intellectuals who advocated the existing constitutional arrangements during the public discussion of the constitutional changes.

The response of the YWF Presidium was miserable. The SWS itself had to arrange and pay for interpreting in Gevgelija (and even this was "permitted" only after a long and unseemly session in Belgrade); the suggestion (about the trial of the four) was blocked with the justification that the YWF possesses insufficient reports; the SWS proposal was outvoted or the YWF voted not to vote on the proposal (regarding the request for a condemnation of the persecution of writers); the YWF and the writers associations in Yugoslavia responded with silence (only the Vojvodina society replied to the appeal against the persecution of Albanian intellectuals, and it replied by closing its eyes to the facts).

This means hindrance, ignorance, outvoting, and silence.

A special chapter in the YWF book consists of undermining actions by the Serbian Writers Association, ranging from the demand that the YWF should expel from its ranks the Kosovo Writers Association because the Serbian and Montenegrin writers resigned from it with a transparent intention, to the breaking of relations with the said Kosovo association and with the SWS, to which the Serbian Writers Association made it known, with a big brother's despotic gesture, that the relations will be reestablished when the Slovene writers reduce their vision of the world and society to the scale prescribed by the Serbian Writers Association board. Such ultrahegemonistic and destructive actions by the Serbian Writers Association, which in fact demolish the YWF, have not been opposed by any writers association in Yugoslavia.

The SWS must encompass in its views all the institutions of the system, the state and its organs, all the movements, all the ideologies, all the national mythologies, and all the political and aktivist will, devoted to unique, unrivaled man and the individual, devoted to and serving truth. In these moments and times, which are shaking Yugoslavia to its foundations, it is a more than noticeable fact that the YWF and the several writers associations have taken the other side, the side of the party state, the side that has a bloodthirsty idea and a real socialist concept, according to which man is here in this world only to serve the idea and the system and to be reduced to nothing in the system or to feed with his life the nationalist mythology and its expansionism. It is thus no longer possible to deny that the YWF and several writers associations, and especially the Serbian Writers Association, have recently become military posts for defending the real socialist system and Serbian expansionism, justifying in their name any violence perpetrated against man. When silence reigns in these strongholds, such as the silence about the massacre of the Albanians and even Albanian children, this silence is merely an approval of a system ruled by tanks and it is a silence crying to the heavens about the concentration camps with which a part of Yugoslavia is paving its way into the new millenium. This kind of YWF conduct and activities no longer contains any humanism and has nothing to do with a writer's and man's conscience any longer.

It is not possible to cooperate actively in such a YWF, which at the same time blocks any different initiatives and makes outvoting possible in its Statute. Therefore the SWS sharply dissociates itself from such a YWF and from its conduct, outvoting, and silence. We deny the YWF the right to appear on our behalf with its stances and views before the Yugoslav and the world public and the European and world associations of our peers. The way that the YWF is leaning at present, its conclusions and words can no longer be the word of the SWS.

The SWS will continue to strive for a cultural and literary intercourse, drawing together or pulling apart cultural and political concepts, proposals, and ideas within Yugoslavia, as well as for the development of individual contacts among writers of all literature on the soil of Yugoslavia. Even at the institutional level, the SWS is interested in cooperation with all writers associations that believe that it is worth and that it makes sense to cooperate with the SWS within its broad and generally-known stances and views.

Ljubljana, 9 June 1989.
Rudi Seligo, president, SWS Managing Committee, Ljubljana.

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## Slovenia's Concern for Country's Future Disputed

*AU1806184489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 18 Jun 89*

[Kosta Krajincanic commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] The irrevocable resignation of Branko Greganovic as president of the Youth Organization of Yugoslavia last week drew the public's attention and provoked different comments. Greganovic resigned as president of the youth organization because the Presidium of the Youth Organization of Yugoslavia did not dissociate itself from the speech made by Redzep Hodza at the Presidium session which was, of course, devoted to Kosovo. Otherwise, the sin of Redzep Hodza, president of the Kosovo Youth Organization, lay in the fact that he freely spoke about the destructive role of Slovenia's policy toward Kosovo. There would be not much point in discussing Greganovic's resignation without revealing some other important elements in our total political relations. Here is a commentary by Kosta Krajincanic:

[Krajincanic] The resignation of young Greganovic has first of all revealed the selfishness of the policy pursued by the northwest part of the country toward Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Kosovo. This selfishness was proved to some extent by Greganovic himself, who resigned only 8 days before his term of office was supposed to end. With this move he expressed his devotion and loyalty to the policy of this republic to which he will return after the end of his term of office.

The incident with Redzep Hodza, however unpleasant it may be, came as a very good opportunity to remove some possible doubts. Now he can relax. After this gesture, nobody in Slovenia will criticize him for being too pro-Yugoslav while he was the president of the youth organization. He proved to be a good student of the school in which students are taught that national interests are more important than anything else, even principles, and that Yugoslavia is only a temporary and suitable state community.

When this kind of view on the policy of the northwest part of the country was expressed in the past, this part of the country used to send protest notes claiming that attacks were made without any proof. Now, the proof has come from the very creators of this policy.

In an interview carried in today's issue of BORBA, Sonja Lokar, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, indirectly admits that the Slovenes are interested in Kosovo only if it can be used to ensure the national interests, security, and sovereignty of Slovenia. She says that for many people in Slovenia, Kosovo is the synonym for what could happen to Slovenia tomorrow, the synonym for being put in the position of a minority in which the minority cannot do anything. When Sonja Lokar, the ideologist of the Slovene party, says this, she does not have in mind Serbs and Montenegrins who live in Kosovo as a minority, and who are experiencing what they have recently experienced. She has in mind the ethnic Albanians as a minority nation in Yugoslavia and the emergency measures.

In order to avoid any ambiguity, she immediately adds: The fact is that in Kosovo there are as many Albanians as there are of us, Slovenes. The people are afraid of centralization of the country and of being in the position in which they could be outvoted. Is it possible that in a highly civilized community such as Slovenia, in a highly democratic society such as the Slovene society, there is so much selfishness? Sonja Lokar is trying to convince us that the Slovenes are more afraid of a hypothetical possibility of being outvoted as a small nation and of emergency measures being introduced in Slovenia than they are concerned about the real terror to which Serbs and Montenegrins have been exposed in Kosovo for years. If this is the case, then we cannot really live together in Yugoslavia. One cannot survive with such egoism in a family, let alone a multinational community which would like to function as a harmonious family.

If Slovenia really cares for Kosovo as much as it does for last year's snow, which, reading the interview with Lokar, seems to be the case, then this is a serious matter. If everything, if principles, reason, human solidarity, history, and politics are only used to serve one's own national interests, then the last bridges that were linking the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia are literally being destroyed. If other peoples are sacrificed to protect one's own interests, and if eyes are being shut in front of violence and injustice which Serbs and Montenegrins have suffered in Kosovo, every discussion on the future of Yugoslavia will be illogical and invitations to such a discussion sound cynical.

The speech made by Milan Kucan at Tacno near Ljubljana yesterday, in which he announced the possibility that Slovenia may not attend the 14th extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, is an additional proof that this republic does not care much for Yugoslavia's future.

### Stanovnik, Editor Meden React to Bavcar 'Notes'

*AU1706172789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 89 p 7*

[V. Simonovic report: "Most Without Comment"]

[Text] The publication in the TRIBUNA student paper of the conversations that Igor Bavcar, president of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, had with the highest state and political officials and other public personalities, and the reports on these talks first in BORBA and then in many other papers, have caused great interest among the public. Of course, many people also expected reactions from the people Bavcar spoke to, but these have so far been lacking. The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia was the only one to react with a short statement made at the height of the publication of the notes.

Let us recall, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia stressed, among other things in its statement, that Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, had explained that Bavcar's notes about their conversations were obviously tendentious, and portrayed their relations and their mutual exchange of opinions in the last few years in a biased way. Stanovnik also mentioned that part of the conversations had been left out and some important circumstances concerning the way in which the conversations had arisen and so on had been hushed up. We wanted to find out more from President Stanovnik about his talks with Igor Bavcar and about the actual notes entitled "My Talks," but we received the reply that he did not want to talk about it anymore. We received a similar reply from the other most senior political officials with whom Bavcar spoke, Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia, and Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

Apart from the reaction from the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, only one of the people with whom Bavcar spoke, Milan Meden, chief and responsible editor of the Ljubljana DNEVNIK, has reacted publicly to Bavcar's writings. Meden published in his paper those notes which related to him and an accompanying commentary literally entitled: "Christ, What Shit There Is When the Curtain Goes Up." Meden also wrote, among other things, that Bavcar's sealed bid with the unauthorized notes of one-on-one conversations during the finishing stage of a "chess match" was not particularly rational but rather nihilistically emotional, although he wanted to use them to show the most characteristic methods of attacking a king who could not get away from the center by castling. "In this case, the king did not want to get away from the center at all, even though he could have done so, because he had not played in a conventional way from the very beginning." Meden did not pass any particular comment on the contents of the other talks or on Bavcar's conversations with him.

The only state or political official to agree to talk to us was Tina Tomlje, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovene League of Communists.

I do not have the impression that he did not interpret our conversation correctly, said Tomlje. "I am not bothered by this question in the political sense, although it has an influence on the credibility of people who are in public life. His (Bavcar's) actions were not proper because everyone speaks differently if they know that what they are saying is going to be published."

## Serbian Presidency Member Kertez on Slovenia

*AU1606134089 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene*
*10 Jun 89 p 3*

[DELO correspondent Branko Jokic report: "Mihalj Kertez: The Parliamentarians Were Sent to Kosovo by the Slovenes"]

[Text] Titograd, 9 Jun—Mihalj Kertez, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, spent the day in Titograd and Cetinje yesterday. First he was a guest of the six "most revolutionary local communities," and then he visited the two "even more revolutionary" work organizations, Radoje Dakic and the Railroad Transportation Organization. He paid tribute to the leaderships and the workers because they think "in the Yugoslav spirit" and because they deserve the most credit for the emergence of the Montenegrin truth and right. He also expressed his thanks for these merits.

In Cetinje, he met Jovan Markus, president of the communal assembly. He promised Serbia's cooperation with the local economy and received a present, The Mountain Wreath [19th century epic poem by Petar Petrovic Njegos]. A book—Memoirs of King Nikola [last king of Montenegro, deposed in 1918]—was also presented to him in Titograd. Kertez said that not only he, but also his children and grandchildren, will read it. Yesterday, Kertez also appeared in the Titograd Youth Center forum (in a half-empty hall, for which the unknown organizer of the gathering was blamed) although this was not on the set program. He spoke about many things, but mostly about Slovene-Serbian relations. Two weeks ago, Janez Stanovnik, "Montenegrin brother-in-law," spoke in the same forum sitting in the same chair. Kertez said last night (probably by accident) that he is the "Serbian brother-in-law", that he celebrates St George's Day, and that he is not a drunkard....

### Responding to Provocations...

He was first asked to explain what he said that day when he met with the workers—that the European Parliamentarians were brought to Kosovo by the Slovenes. The audience in the hall loudly expressed their indignation over the question and demanded that Kertez not reply. Some people said that the question (submitted in writing) was asked by someone who adheres to the old policy.

When the wave of indignation calmed down and the questioner spoke up, Kertez replied:

"My work is such that I must also reply to provocations and vomit. I am prepared to descend to such a level.... The parliamentary delegation came at its own request, but I hope that I was quite clear this morning. Slovenia, or rather its leaders, assert that the situation in Kosovo is different, but these leaders visited Kosovo only when they went hunting in Brezovica. They do not know the situation. Whoever would like to know what the situation is should come with his family—when his daughter is raped, he will know what the situation is. How else can we explain the position of the Slovene leaders who attack the Serbian and the federal governments because they reproached the parliamentary delegation for visiting the enemies in Pristina and embracing the most inveterate nationalists and our enemies. Precisely for this reason, I said that there is a link, and I assert that a link actually exists. It also exists between the autonomist leadership of Vojvodina and the present leadership of Slovenia, while those in Kosovo are mere executors."

The next question was whether Serbia boycotts (or will boycott) Slovene goods. Kertez said that it did not, but he wanted to know whether this happened in Montenegro. Shouts were heard from the hall: "We will not buy them."

During the talks, Kertez was asked several other questions about Slovenia and the Slovenes. He said that they may worry about others, but they are hypocrites: "They like to worry about Kosovo's problems, but they forget their own.... Only those who search for progressive ways may give lectures and instructions to others. The Slovene leadership cannot solve its own problems, which are simply piling up, and therefore it directs its public to the problems in Serbia.

"However, the leaders are not the same as the Slovene people. Their own economy and the truth will destroy them."

He added that Serbia has always paid the bills for Slovenia. Dirty industry was developed in the south, while Slovenia developed profitable production even if it only assembled parts. According to Kertez, Serbia will now introduce market behavior so that it will soon be seen who will achieve.

He explained the interest of the Slovenes in Kosovo in a similar way: the Slovene economy invests joint (Yugoslav) dinars and employs its capacities, while the Slovene banks derive benefit. "This is transfer of income to their benefit," the speaker explained. He added that he will send the Albanian immigrants to "brothers Slovenes" if they do not respect what they have in Kosovo and in Serbia.

Asked about Kardelj, he said that he will reply on some other occasion over Titograd television after he has read the shorthand reports promised by "a journalist" that will explain Kardelj's role in adopting the 1974 Constitution.

### Suvar Destroyed 15 Generations

Kertez said the following about the federal leadership: "I will support Drnovsek until he convinces me to the contrary. I raise both hands for Bucin. Zelenovic must act as the people and nationalities of Vojvodina want, otherwise we will chase him out. Jovic is a tested fighter for Yugoslavia. If right will be done, Tupurkovski will come from Macedonia. We will see about Bosnia-Hercegovina, we must wait for the elections.

"Suvar is a contradictory man. He says one thing and then he spits at himself, and therefore we must not be surprised when he also spits at others. He ruined 15 school generations with his education reform. In Croatia he is proposed by those who hate the Serbs. If he is against Milosevic and Serbia, he is also against Yugoslavia.

"Ivan Racan crept into the League of Communists and its highest leadership, but he should be in a classroom. Of course he would not teach children, but would have to learn."

Kertez also spoke about other subjects. The loan in Serbia was launched not to make that republic strong, but to make its economy fit and to help others, especially Montenegro. In this connection he stressed that the Belgrade-Bar railroad line will be linked with Europe and that a duty free zone will be opened in Bar, so that "others will not steal from us through local border traffic." He expressed the opinion that nobody in history has made "the two eyes in the head" [reference to Serbia and Montenegro] quarrel and nobody can ever do so. He announced that Slobodan Milosevic will visit Montenegro, because "Slobo is a Yugoslav." He said about the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts that he does not know it well enough and that he will talk about it on some other occasion. He also commented on the stance of the Serbian Writers Association and said that there are no quarrels in Serbia, but different roads to the same goal.

### Malicious Question by a Pluralist

Somebody asked why Kertez's visit to Montenegro was "unannounced" and whether he was repaying the visit of six Titograd "revolutionary" local communities to Slobodan Milosevic (it is said that the delegation included a 3-year-old child).

After loud chanting, "Long Live Slobodan Milosevic," and demands that the person who asked the question should come forward (the "diffident questioner" remained anonymous), Kertez said that he was grateful "that you came to see Slobo and brought him a gusle [one-string folk instrument]." Kertez's visit was unexpected only because he had no free dates until August. He declared that the question was malicious and read from a piece of paper that the author of the question introduced himself as a "pluralist of the Western and not of the Bolshevik origin." There was silence in the hall (probably because they realized that "even such" people are among them)....

The guest predicted that in 6 months or in 1 year at the latest, everything will be put in order in Yugoslavia. In conclusion he expressed thanks once again on behalf of Serbia, which has become Serbia after 6 centuries, headed by Slobodan Milosevic.

The not very numerous audience took leave of the guest with an ovation.

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## Propaganda Body on 'Special War' Against Serbia

*AU1606202289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] In the propaganda war against Serbia it has come to the point where negative propaganda in Yugoslavia to which certain officials and publications contribute, is more aggressive and destructive than propaganda from abroad. This was said at the session of the Commission for Information of the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists during a debate on current problems in propaganda activity directed at foreign countries. Here is a report by Zivojin Jerotijevic and Vesna Dadic.

The introductory speaker, Zivorad Minovic said that the ultimate aim of the special war against Serbia is the destruction of Yugoslavia. This is what Minovic said on the sources of these attacks:

[Begin Minovic recording] Certain parts of the media in Slovenia and Croatia—MLADINA, DANAS, DELO, VJESNIK, and some other papers—have played directly into the hands of the destroyers of Yugoslavia, encouraging the separatist movement in Kosovo. Some of the media drew the best sources for anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav attacks from precisely these newspapers. [end recording]

It was said in the debate that the truth about Serbia must reach every region of our country.

Zivorad Djordjevic saw the main cause of propaganda activity against Serbia in the strategic games among various interests which had the aim of maintaining uncertainty in Yugoslavia but also in the fact that, as he said, historical wounds heal more quickly than they are forgotten.

[Begin Djordjevic recording] The largest source of antipropaganda against Serbia is to be found in the country. It is much more serious, dangerous, and destructive than any propaganda from abroad. Not one single untruth about Serbia has appeared abroad that had not appeared earlier in Yugoslavia and was launched from Yugoslavia into the world. [end recording]

Dealing with Djordjevic's assessment, Bozidar Bogdanovic commented:

[Begin Bogdanovic recording] Until the truth about Serbia, and we are now talking about Serbia, reaches all regions of Yugoslavia, it will be difficult for it to cross Yugoslav borders into Europe and even further a field in its original form. [end recording]

Aleksandar Prlja supported the view that aggressive propaganda mobilization is not necessary because of fear for Serbia but because of responsibility to Yugoslavia.

[Begin Prlja recording] I would plead, above all, for a cooling down of destructive passions, not out of fear for Serbia but because of our responsibility to Yugoslavia. [end recording]

Concluding the debate, Zivorad Minovic said that considered and increased propaganda activity aimed at foreign countries was essential in the future because such activity is important both for Yugoslavia and for Serbia. He proposed that a coordination body be set up which would coordinate the propaganda activity in the whole of the republic on the basis of a joint program.

The chief editor of KOMUNIST proposed that a single edition be set up for the whole of Serbia. This would create a more modern weekly which would be freely available. The commission favorably assessed the newspaper's achievements last year.

### Serbia 'Slammed Door' to Dialogue With Slovenia

*AU1606102389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jun 89 p 15*

[Vlastimir Mijovic commentary reprinted from OSLOBODJENJE: "Completely Closed Door"—date not given]

[Text] Extreme exclusiveness and political ultimatums are the main characteristics of the "dialogue" presently being conducted between Serbia and Slovenia. Nobody is listening to anybody else and nobody is trying to understand each other. Although such political manners have already caused bad blood, things have continued in the old way, tit-for-tat.

Just as the Yugoslav public, which is utterly fed up with Slovene-Serbian bickering, was beginning to hope that with its letter of reconciliation the Slovene Presidency will quickly and efficiently cushion the new tremor caused by Slobodan Milosevic's aggressive conduct at the Yugoalat enterprise of Novi Sad, the hope more or less immediately turned out to be futile. By replying to the Slovene offer with a categorical ultimatum, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has probably slammed the door to a possible dialogue at the highest level.

It has been a very long time in our internal political life since such a high official body allowed itself the dose of exclusiveness with which the Serbian republican leadership composed its reply to their Slovene colleagues.

One does not have to be a good political analyst to conclude that, instead of reconciliation, this has opened yet another page in the history of confrontations, confrontations that are perhaps the fiercest so far. True, if this is used as the starting point, chances for a dialogue are non-existent.

...When it comes to an all-Yugoslav action in Kosovo, the Slovene leadership can be criticized on many accounts. There are, however, very few, if any, valid arguments for asserting that in this domain Slovenia is conducting an anti-Yugoslav and anti-Serbian policy, as it was reproached by Milosevic's leadership....

The Slovene politicians, who rightly oppose the Machiavellian way of solving the Kosovo crisis, mainly insisted upon by Serbia, could nevertheless alter their views on the general action in Kosovo. Much more attention could be devoted to the actual situation rather than to the methods of how to change it. However, this is very difficult to do under constant pressure, under aggressive and very often dirty pressure aimed at belittling every move made by the Slovene leaders toward Kosovo. On the other hand, the conclusions of the European Parliament delegation, which recently visited Yugoslavia and Kosovo, show that the Slovene insistence on solutions which must not be in contradiction with the principles of a law-governed state is not a pure a dream. Serbia should certainly take this into account. If not, everybody will stick to their own story. As far as Kosovo is concerned, new problems will continue to emerge....

Kosovo is, however, not the only reason for or cause of confrontations between Serbia and Slovenia. The situation on this front has been extremely serious for a long time. So, the leaders are in a permanent clash, writers have officially broken off their inter-republican cooperation, the media is exchanging fire with unchanged ferocity, and so-called "ordinary citizens" are drawn in the general dissension—as consumers who are demonstrating their loyalty by whose goods they are buying. The question is what will happen with the traditional October train of friendship which has so far on several occasions successfully reinforced the loosened bonds of traditional friendship. Unfortunately, it appears that Serbia and Slovenia only still rhyme in name.

The Slovene-Serb disagreements, which during the past year have in fact been reflecting the seriousness of the overall Yugoslav clashes, are a perfectly logical product of the two diametrically opposed political concepts.... There are many other differences. On the whole, besides Kosovo, there are many other good reasons for a serious all-Yugoslav discussion on the frictions between Serbia and Slovenia. If this trend is to continue, it can undoubtedly lead to the most serious confrontation of all, a confrontation between the entire two nations. It is best not to mention where this would lead to.

Since the numerous attempts to establish a direct contact which would lead to reconciliation have failed, it appears that the initiative should now be taken by the third presidency—by the Yugoslav Presidency.

### Serbia Favors Belgrade for LC Congress Setting

*AU1806202089 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jun 89 p 1*

[TANJUG report: "The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Proposed To Be Held in Belgrade"]

[Text] The question of interethnic relations is extremely important and complicated, and the League of Communists [LC] should take a clear stand on it because the future of our socialist organization and Yugoslavia as a community of equal peoples and nationalities will depend on how successfully this problem is solved in political practice. This was stated yesterday at a session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium (the session was chaired by Dr Bogdan Trifunovic) discussed current ideopolitical questions concerning interethnic relations and the LC's tasks prior to the next session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. The introductory speech was made by Dr Vlajko Petkovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

The Serbian LC Central Committee—which will, as envisaged, discuss this at the end of this month—will assess the results achieved and the current problems, and will establish clear orientations for the LC on how to improve interethnic relations in this republic and Yugoslavia. This was said in a statement issued yesterday.

The session also established the tasks of the Serbian LC Central Committee on the implementation of the concept of all people's defense and social self-protection in the public information media. Miodrag Ivanovic, president of the Commission for the All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, submitted a speech on this topic.

The Presidium proposed that the 14th extraordinary Congress of the LCY be held in Belgrade, stressing that this year the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, that is to say the LCY, marks its 70th anniversary and that it would be logical to hold this highest gathering of Yugoslav Communists in the capital city of Yugoslavia, in the same place where the first party congress was held.

Additional arguments for holding the congress in Belgrade, according to the statement issued, were that Belgrade has all of the organizational and technical conditions as well as the economic and financial advantages.

## Serbian Socialist Alliance Elects President

*AU1706191989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 89 p 3*

[M. Torov report: "Radmila Andjelkovic President"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 Jun—The Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People [SAWP] of Serbia today elected Radmila Andjelkovic, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, president for the period of the next 6 months, that is, until the new elections. Andjelkovic was elected by secret ballot and received 132 votes from the 202 delegates present (one ballot was invalid). The opposing candidate, Slobodan Z. Markovic, professor of the Belgrade Philological Faculty, received 69 votes.

By secret ballot at a separate session, the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Serbia elected Dr Dejan Milovanovic as its secretary. He received 22 votes from 28 members, while the other candidate, Prvoslav Ralic, received only 6 votes. Both are members of the Republican Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Serbia. [passage omitted]

## 100 Kosovo Albanians Expelled From Romania

*AU1606140189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 89 p 14*

[Dragan Vitomirovic report: "Demonstrations by 'Visiting Smugglers'"]

[Text] The state border is not a barrier which can prevent "our" Albanians from holding anti-Yugoslav or anti-Serbian demonstrations on the territory of other states. According to reports, ethnic Albanian workers temporarily employed abroad have always expressed their hostile attitudes at demonstrations in Western countries. However, we have recently heard for the first time about similar occurrences in "Eastern Europe."

At the session of the Intercommunal Conference of the League of Communists of the Zajecar region which was assessing the political security situation, information was presented which had surely been until then a taboo subject (it was in fact quite old) and kept "secret."

Viseslav Zivanovic, president of the Communal Conference of the League of Communists of Kladovo, cited figures on the expulsion of quite a large group—100—of Kosovo Albanians from Romania via the border crossing at Djerdap on the last day of March and the first day of April.

The police in Turnu Severin on the border "packed" these "Albanians" into two buses and sent them into Yugoslavia at exactly the same time as the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia were being adopted. This was because they had expressed their hostility toward Serbia and Yugoslavia and particularly toward Slobodan Milosevic in demonstrations in the market in Turnu Severin, during which they shouted hostile slogans, took away the passports of the other Yugoslav citizens who were there, and beat up individuals of Serbian nationality. This was reported by Viseslav Zivanovic at the session.

We followed up on this information. Officially we did not find out much but unofficially we heard a "long" story.

In the last 10 years, quite a large group of Albanians have "moved" into the Socialist Republic of Romania on "temporary smuggling business." Some of them chose larger towns in the interior of Romania for their temporary home but, to judge by the conditions for border smuggling by Yugoslav and Romanian citizens in border trade, a larger number decided to secure a stay in bigger places near the Romanian-Yugoslav border.

Some of them temporarily got married, others rented apartments by paying the owners well, and others secured their stay through corruption and cooperation with police organs. They had their own stalls in the markets where they sold goods in short supply to Romanians for "a lot of money" which they had previously bought up from Yugoslav citizens who had gone there "for little money." They would then sell the Romanian leu accumulated in this way to Yugoslav "tourists" for foreign currency or dinars which they took into Yugoslavia.

Apart from this, they stole goods from Yugoslav citizens, stole passports, organized fights, and "informed" for the police organs. The corruption of customs and police organs was an integral part of their existence in Romania.

One of the more important "centers" for Albanians from Kosovo was, until March this year, Turnu Severin. This large border town on the Danube is connected to Kladovo by the border crossing via the Iron Gate Hydroelectric Power Station. Because our citizens and Romanian citizens were on the same wavelength, especially concerning border trade, this was a very suitable "center" for this group of Albanian smugglers.

Those people who were officially interested in their dealings, knew something about them even earlier. There had been individual expulsions by the Romanian police and the confiscation of passports by our police both at the border and in Kosovo. Leu could even be acquired much more easily in Kosovo than in Kladovo. However, there was no real action taken to prevent this. Yugoslavia's standing was sold off.

This lasted until this April. At this time it was shown that this was not just an insignificant band of smugglers. They held well-organized demonstrations against Yugoslavia and Serbia.

The Romanians expelled them thinking that Yugoslavia would interpret this as a goodwill gesture, because in the meantime the voice of the Socialist Republic of Serbia concerning the position of the Serbian national minority in Romania was beginning to be heard. It was explained to the Albanians that this was the demand of the Yugoslav Government, probably so that the Albanians would not blame them.

Have the Romanians asked for some favor in return from Yugoslavia?

Statements were taken from "our" Albanians who were expelled from Romania and perhaps some had their passports confiscated. They were then allowed to go home because the Yugoslav judiciary had no real or local power over them since they had committed these acts on foreign territory.

## Ckrebic Talks With Romanian Party Official

*AU1706183189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Dusan Ckrebic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, has met Ilie Matei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and first secretary of the Timis County RCP Committee. They discussed the cooperation of the two parties in their neighboring countries.

They also talked about the position of the national minorities, the Serbian and Croatian in Romania, and the Romanian nationality in Yugoslavia.

The statement issued in Bucharest says that Dusan Ckrebic was acquainted with the position and rights of the Serbian and Croatian minority, which are implemented primarily in culture, education, and information, as well as with specific opportunities for more frequent contacts and more substantive cooperation with respective institutions in Yugoslavia and Serbia.

## Multiparty Pluralism Rejected 'in Principle'

*AU1806172689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 18 Jun 89*

[Dragan Stavljanin commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] While until recently socialist countries conducted heated discussions on whether political pluralism would be a viable thing, now it is clear even to the staunchest conservatives that political pluralism is an integral part of social life. The dilemma today is how to express this plurality of interests, whether there should be a multiparty system or one-party system led by the communist party which will allow a network of alternative groups. Some people are even talking about a possibility of nonparty pluralism. All this is more or less also reflecting on Yugoslavia. It is, however, obvious that the questions concerning political pluralism are not fully understood. Here is a commentary by Dragan Stavljanin:

[Stavljanin] Let us be saved by those who support us in absolutely everything, by those who think like us in every respect. Either there is something wrong with the people who think along those lines, or, by cheering us, they want to realize their aims through us. Put in political jargon, this would amount to the following: Every man has his personal interest. After all, there would be no point in trying to prove at the threshold of the 21st century that there is no uniform society.

What is important to emphasize are the rules of the game which on the one hand facilitate the expression of different interests, while on the other hand do not lead to the breaking up of a community, but toward its greater unity and efficiency.

In current discussions concerning the direction of the development of political pluralism, the central question is the form of its expression. The possibility of introducing multiparty pluralism is rejected in principle. Instead of this, there is a widespread view that the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] should, in cooperation with alternative groups, be the exponent through which this plurality would be expressed. The other variant considered by some individuals is the nonparty pluralism which, if it is viable at all, would be more of a matter for the future.

The fact that we do not need a multiparty system at present is not disputed, even if we consider certain results and indications in other socialist countries. However, the arguments with which the party and other systems' institutions are used to refute the validity of the arguments to introduce a multiparty system must be presented more firmly and clearly. For instance, it is said, and this was also heard recently, that the existence of a multiparty system before the war had led to the downfall of the old Yugoslavia. Therefore, under the present conditions such a system would deepen our divisions even further.

This is why the LCY must not allow the emergence of alliances which are anti-socialist, let alone other parties. One should not be one-sided and say that the existence of several parties in the old Yugoslavia was the only reason for its downfall. This had certainly contributed to it, but there were other reasons. After all, the advocates of a multiparty system can rightly claim that deep divisions also exist in the new Yugoslavia, despite the fact that there is only one party. In fact, the party has contributed to these divisions in many ways.

It is also important to explain some other facts. The LCY should not have to justify to anybody its reasons for not wanting a multiparty system. It has historic credibility for holding such a view. In 1941, the party was the only thing that offered a liberational, general Yugoslav, and democratic platform. Other political organizations either did not or could not do it at that time. This irrefutable historic fact has provided the one-party system with undisputed legitimacy and legality.

However, over a number of years the LCY has significantly contributed to the general crisis. The more it deepened the more the party lost its legitimacy and created a place for the activity of other forces. Since the political system and concrete decisions are the expression of the real balance of power, the party must work in such a way that it would enjoy the biggest possible trust of the masses. In this way it would automatically narrow the space for other groups' activities. The reputation and the real power of the LCY will grow to the extent that it succeeds in reforming itself into a successful united and democratic organization, and, we hope, if it stops the crisis and starts an all-around social transformation in cooperation with the others.

In this case it would be possible to have the kind of pluralism which the systems' institution strive for: the party in a true alliance with alternative groups. We say a true alliance, because in the present circumstances, as the situation in the country is deteriorating, various alliances are gaining in importance and regard the alliance with the Communists more as a transitional solution. Therefore, time is against the Communists and if they do not understand social trends and where chances for their social action lie, they will push themselves into the margins.

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## Mikulic, Dizdarevic Reject Retirement 'Decision'

*AU1706165489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 89 p 3*

[Dj. Kesic report: "Mikulic's Complaint to the State"]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jun—BORBA has unofficially learned that Branko Mikulic, until recently president of the Federal Executive Council, and Petar Vajovic, justice minister in Mikulic's government, have submitted a demand to the Federal Court for Administrative Litigation (under judge Kiril Cavdarov) because they are dissatisfied with the decision of the SFRY Assembly Administrative Commission which says that these two senior officials should retire.

In line with the Law on the Work and Rights of Delegates in the SFRY Assembly and Federal Officials, the aforementioned SFRY Assembly commission recently made decisions according to which Branko Mikulic, Pater Vajovic, Dobrosav Culafic, and seven other delegates in the SFRY Assembly met all of the conditions for retirement. According to these decisions, Mikulic and Vajovic, as well as Culafic and the others, should officially retire on 1 July this year.

As BORBA has discovered, Branko Mikulic and Petar Vajovic have lodged appeals with the SFRY Assembly Administrative Commission because they are dissatisfied with these decisions, stating that in their case the aforementioned law could be interpreted differently. It is possible that the appeal has been lodged too late because more than the 30 days specified by law have passed between the decision on retirement being handed down and the appeal being lodged.

True, the SFRY Assembly Administrative Commission could have interpreted the law differently, because the law says that the federal officials whose public duty is terminated or who submit their resignation may remain available for duty for 1 year plus 6 months, unless they have "settled" in another job. However, this only applies to officials who have not completed 40 years of service reached the age of 65. How the objections by Mikulic and Vajovic are definitely resolved will be seen at the session of the SFRY Assembly Administrative Commission slated for 22 June, and it is possible that the Federal Court will also have the opportunity to make a pronouncement on the matter.

Mikulic and Vajovic have completed 40 years of service and therefore met the condition for obligatory retirement under the law.

As BORBA has unofficially learned, Raif Dizdarevic, until recently president of the SFRY Presidency, has also applied to the Administrative Commission to remain available for duty for 1 year.

### Zagreb Students Urge Pardons for PRC Students

*LD1706141989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1354 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Zagreb, June 17 (TANJUG)—The student leadership of Zagreb University has appealed on the Chinese Government to pardon the students sentenced to death.

"We appeal for reason and once again beg the government of the People's Republic of China to reconsider its decision and save the lives of young men. It would be inexcusable to look for those responsible for the recent disorders and massacre over the civilian population among those who had demanded more freedom and democracy," it is said in the telegram the Zagreb students sent to the embassay of the P.R. of China in Belgrade.

The leadership of Zagreb students also called all youth and other socio-political organizations in Yugoslavia to join in the appeal.

### City Secretariat Bans Party Founding Assembly

*LD1706135389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 17 Jun 89*

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Jun (TANJUG)—The announced founding assembly of the Croat Democratic Community, scheduled for this morning, was not held due to a ban issued by the Zagreb City Secretariat of Internal Affairs.

The provisional committee had asked for a permit to convene a meeting at which a sociopolitical organization would be established. The explanation of the ban says that it was declared, "concerning the strong feelings among the public following the initiatives for the establishment of the Croat Democratic Community and individuals' stances published in the media...there are well-founded expectations that the convening of a public meeting on the basis of certain stances, at present in the draft program, could upset the participants."

This morning, outside the hall where the assembly was to take place about 100 people gathered. They were given the text of "A protest by the Provisional Body of the Founding Assembly of the Croat Democratic Community." The text says that the provisional committee will continue its activity "until the Croat Democratic Community is successfully established."

### Main Macedonian Candidates for Presidency Named

*AU1606091589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 89 p 3*

[TANJUG report: "Five Candidates Receive Support"]

[Excerpt] Skopje, 13 Jun—The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Macedonia discussed the election of a member of the SFRY Presidency from Macedonia and concluded that the candidates Vasil Tupurkovski, Dragoljub Stavrev, Tito Belicanec, Svetomir Skaric, and Metodi Petroski received the support of the republican communes and sociopolitical organizations. Some reservations about Dragoljub Stavrev were expressed only in Kumanovo, Stip, and Kavadarci.

The list of candidates will be adopted by the Republican Nomination Conference on Friday, 16 June. This will be followed by a referendum on 25 June. The final decision on the Macedonian member of the SFRY Presidency will be made at a session of the Macedonian Assembly. [passage omitted]

### Military Court Announces Sentences for Arsonists

*LD1606145589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—Today the council of five of the military court in Belgrade, chaired by judge Lieutenant Colonel Petar Milicevic, announced sentences for nine present and former soldiers who tried to set the formal hall in the center of higher military schools on Banjica on fire last August.

The court found them guilty and meted out imprisonment sentences. First defendant Iljir Nalbanij was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment; Muhamet Jasari to 8 years of imprisonment; Ivica Medved was sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment; Fadilj Recepi to 6 years; Dragan and Milan Tomas to 5 years each; Rahman Dzokli to 4; Genc Sinani and Miro Selimovic to 3 years of imprisonment each.

All defendants have the right of appeal. According to the court decision, their detention is prolonged until the enforcement of the sentences.